The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 22, 1895.

The Week.

THE 16-to-1 Democrats in Ohio are beaten as badly in their State convention as the same faction was beaten in Kentucky. There are sufficient reasons for this result without ascribing it to the herculean labors of Senator Brice. The terrible thrashing that the party received last year, when the 16-to-1 men had everything their own way and adopted a 16-to-1 platform, has had its due share in producing the present result. The example of Kentucky has likewise had a powerful influence in shaping ideas on the north side of the Ohio River. Still, there does not appear to be any great anxiety among Democrats to secure the nomination for Governor, although there is a latent and widespread feeling that they may carry the Legislature and elect a Senator.

The victory of the free-coinage men in the recent Democratic State convention in Mississippi was overwhelming. Two causes have combined to prolong the silver delusion in that commonwealth. One is the fact that it stands somewhat aloof from the currents of business activity which make its neighbor, Alabama, more quickly responsive to the turn in the tide of public thought on this question throughout the country. The other is the fact that since Lamar left his seat in the Senate to enter Cleveland's cabinet ten years ago there has been no great leader to expose the fallacy of the free-coinage theory and open the eyes of the people to its folly, as he did when the silver issue came up in 1878. The present violence of the craze is a matter that chiefly concerns Mississippi. The fact that the State is solid for free coinage will not rescue that movement from its assured defeat, but it will prejudice the best class of possible settlers from making homes in a State capable of such folly.

The Maryland Republicans last week adopted a civil-service plank which is fully as explicit and far-reaching as the Illinois plan. It pledges the party to "the enactment of such legislation as shall permit the people of the several counties and municipalities of the State to decide for themselves by popular vote whether appointments to the police, fire, and all other departments of public service shall be in accordance with the principles of the merit system." This is a clear recognition both of the business arguments against the spoils system, and of the fact that a non-partisan public service is an essential part of home rule. When the people of any given locality are free to decide the question for themselves, the dictators at the State capital or at Washington will be told to keep their hands off. The result of the test vote at Chicago indicates how surely local sentiment may be appealed to as against the bosses. The spoils system has thriven on the indifference of local voters to local issues, compared with national questions, and now that local issues—municipal home rule, an honest and permanent public service—are coming to the front as never before in this country, the bosses will be sent to the rear as never before.

Mr. Manley, chairman of the executive committee of the national Republican organization, has some very bold and pronounced views on the questions where the next national convention should be held, how the Southern delegates should be treated, and how the business revival will shelve the silver question. But when pressed to name the really great issue of the campaign, he politely but firmly declines to answer. He knows, but he will not tell. In the matter of reminiscences he was communicative enough. His party had made a great mistake about the force-bill issue, and should have dropped it eight years before it did. This seems to be a confession that a leading doctrine of one national convention may be dropped by the next. If the force bill may be so dropped, if silver may be dropped, why not protection also, and the platform confined to an endorsement of a pure home life, useful knowledge, and the cardinal virtues? Anyhow, we are glad to see Mr. Manley so certain that whoever is nominated will be elected. What the man who is elected thinks or will do, is of course a minor matter.

Senator Wolcott is the latest of the erstwhile loud-sounding silver orators to discover that this is a time for modest stillness and humility. The silver question, he observes, has had "too much said about it for its own good." Is this a reflection on Stewart and Jones and their speeches for nine times the space that men call day? Who has said more, in his way, about the silver question than the Colorado Senator himself? True, he has been reëlected, and does not now need to fire the Colorado heart by announcing his willingness to do or die for the silver-miners; but, even so, we should hardly think it safe for him to indulge in such open cynicism. "This is no time to argue the question," he observes, "when nothing can be gained by it." As a lawyer, Mr. Wolcott must know that this sounds very much like counsel declaring, after the Supreme Court has decided against them, that they do not care to argue the case any further just then.

It is high time that a search party was organized in a scientific way to sail in pursuit of British bimetallism. That elusive natural phenomenon is in as great need of being discovered, located, and described, as was ever the snark. Returning travellers tell weird and conflicting tales about it. Mr. Whitney was powerfully impressed with the strength and ferocity of bimetallism in England, until he found people in this country laughing at his story as merely a horrid vision caused by the febrile conditions to which Presidential candidates are subject, and then he took it all back. Speaker Crisp told the correspondents that it might be true—he hoped it was—that bimetallism was making giant strides in England, but that not a stride had been taken in his presence. Speaker Fish had spent a large part of his vacation in hunting for British bimetallism, but confessed on Saturday that he had not seen so much as a feather of that shy bird. But these explorers were clearly too unenterprising, too sceptical, did not recognize an irresistible wave of bimetallism when they saw it. Let them learn of Prof. Robert Ellis Thompson. He writes to the Philadelphia *American* giving the most authentic and inside news about bimetallism in England. He knew enough to go to headquarters. Less shrewd observers contented themselves with reading the papers, scanning election addresses, and listening to the speeches of candidates; and, finding no more about bimetallism in them than about traducianism, rashly concluded that there "wasn't no such a thing." But if they had gone with Prof. Thompson to the office of the Bimetallic League in Manchester, their eyes, and perhaps their mouths, would have opened in astonishment. There were bimetallic posters—the walls were "papered" with them. They were written in "terse, strong, ringing sentences," which shows how different the art of bimetallic composition is in England from the form we know. Some of the posters were "in Welsh"—terse, strong, ringing Welsh. What excuse has Mr. Whitney for not informing the American public of this conclusive proof of the strength of English bimetallism?

One Southern State is at last aroused to the necessity of punishing "prominent citizens" who go around shooting anybody with whom they chance to quarrel. A fortnight ago T. Dabney Marshall, a Representative in the last Mississippi Legislature and Democratic candidate for Senator in the next one, as well as "a member of a leading family," started out gunning for a man who had made a charge against his character, taking along three companions to insure fair play; and when he met his enemy, who was un-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

armed, Marshall and two of his party began firing at him, keeping it up until his body was riddled with bullets. None of the participants appears to have expected anything worse than formal and resultless proceedings in the courts, after many precedents in cases almost as bad; but the brutality of this assassination aroused public indignation. The Circuit Court met on Monday, the grand jury brought in a true bill for murder against Marshall and his two fellow-shooters, they were arraigned on Wednesday, pleaded guilty, were sentenced to imprisonment for life, and they have already begun to serve their sentences. We have so often been compelled to criticise the remissness of the South in the punishment of murder that it is a great pleasure to find a case where the authorities deserve to be commended. It is to be hoped that the example of Mississippi will be generally imitated.

There is much significance in the current discussion as to the possibility of Mr. Cleveland's renomination for the Presidency. Considering the popular prejudice which is known to exist against a third term, the vitality of the discussion is itself remarkable. We do not think that there is the remotest likelihood of a renomination being offered him, or of his accepting it if it were offered. The reasons for the discussion are, however, not far to seek. Mr. Cleveland is thought of as a possibility for a third term simply because of the dearth, we might say lack, of candidates who stand for what he stands for in the public mind. The people turn to him for further service because they are unable to find as a successor any one who gives assurance that, if elected to the Presidency, he would guard the public interests in the same fearless and effective manner as Mr. Cleveland has done. It was a keen perception of this feeling in the public mind which prompted certain rabid haters of Mr. Cleveland to start the present discussion by saying that he was intriguing for a third term. They were so alarmed at the possibility of having him thrust upon them for another four years that they sought to head it off off by arousing the third-term prejudice. They have performed a useful service in revealing the popular desire for a candidate of the Cleveland type. This desire is likely to be increased when the next Congress gets to work. That body is little different in quality from the one which made the Democrats so much trouble during the past two years, and it is very likely to give the President fresh opportunity to show the country that he is the inflexible defender of its most vital interests.

One of the most objectionable manifestations of false patriotism witnessed in recent years has been the attempt to deprive alien residents of this country of the right to work. In the State of New York the true motive for this discrimination has doubtless been the desire of the politicians to compel the men who are employed on municipal works to qualify as voters. When so qualified, the politicians reasoned, they could be made to vote as desired, and accordingly the Legislature was employed to pass an act making it illegal for a contractor with a municipal corporation for the performance of public works to employ any persons except citizens of the United States. Under this statute a member of a paving company was recently convicted of having employed an Italian in work on a street under a contract with Buffalo. That conviction has now been reversed by the General Term of the Superior Court of Buffalo, and the statute pronounced unconstitutional. Judge White, who delivers the opinion of the court, concludes by saying that until compelled by judicial authority to yield assent to such legislation, he shall esteem it a privilege and solemn duty to stamp it with his disapproval; and good citizens will find it hard to differ with him. The case ought certainly to be carried to the Court of Appeals, for the principles involved are of far-reaching importance. If the several States have power to enact such laws as this, it is evident that the general Government will soon have trouble with foreign countries. Our treaty with Italy provides that Italians residing in the United States shall enjoy the same rights and privileges in respect to their persons and property as are secured to our own citizens, and similar provisions are generally inserted in treaties. While Congress has power to override treaties, the State legislatures have not, and upon this ground alone, as Judge White says, the statute could be held unconstitutional.

The liquor-dealers of this city received a valuable lesson in the elementary principles of government from the Recorder on Friday. They learned with something of a shock that laws in regard to liquor-selling are subject to the same treatment as other laws, and that the first duty of a civilized government is to enforce them. Their previous instruction on this subject has been very inadequate. Mr. Mullins, a liquor-dealer with four saloons, has for many years been defying the law's regulations in regard to Sunday selling, and has never been seriously disturbed by the authorities till now. Occasionally some of his barkeepers were arrested, but they were never convicted of any offence, and were released promptly under the influence of a "pull." On Friday Mr. Mullins found himself in court under quite different conditions. He was adjudged guilty of the violations of the law which his barkeepers, under his orders, had committed. He could find nowhere about the court a "pull" which would work for the amelioration of this verdict. When he stood up before the Recorder for sentence, he was informed that when he violated the law he must take the consequences, that liquor laws were no different from other laws, and that the penalty for his offence would be imprisonment for thirty days and $250 fine.

Senator Hoar takes the bull by the horns when he declares, in his admirable letter on the A. P. A. business, that Catholics otherwise qualified ought to be allowed to teach in the public schools. The Catholic teacher has from the first been the great bugbear of this movement. It was Superintendent Marble's impartial course regarding appointments in Mr. Hoar's own city of Worcester which was made the lever by the A. P. A. element for turning that able and experienced instructor out of his place a year ago. It is therefore instruction that is much needed at his own home, as well as in Boston and other places, which the Senator gives when he says that he does "not wish to exclude Catholics from being public-school teachers (if they will keep their particular religious tenets out of the instruction) because of their religious faith, any more than I would have excluded Phil Sheridan from his office in the army, or would have refused to support him for any public office if he had been nominated for it." The only wonder is that a State which has always prided itself upon its progressiveness should need at this late day to be taught this fundamental lesson in equality.

The London *Economist*, in noticing some of the comments made on this side of the water upon its gloomy views of our finances, declares that it has no intention of making any attack on the credit of the United States Government. True, it continues, the expenditure exceeds the revenue, and Congress refuses to impose new taxes. Nor can it accept the sanguine view that the revenue will increase to such an extent as to cover the deficit. But, in spite of these adverse circumstances, it recognizes the fact that the resources of the country are too great to allow its credit to be questioned. "It is not to fiscal but to currency difficulties that the loss of credit by the United States Government and the lack of confidence in American securities is due." The silver craze has diminished in intensity, but it cannot yet be safely ignored, and the operations of the bond syndicate show that the situation is critical. This syndicate has, it is supposed, succeeded in placing abroad about $100,000,000 of American securities. The effect of this has been to cover an adverse foreign balance and to prevent the exportation of gold. This, according to the *Economist*, has involved "a continuous manipulation of the exchanges," and, so long as it continues, foreign investors cannot be expected to shake off their feeling of distrust, nor can confidence be felt

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the steady development of business in the United States.

The distinction made by the *Economist* between "fiscal" and "currency" difficulties is not very intelligible. We should certainly say that our difficulty was a fiscal one, and that if the revenue of the Government rose above its expenditure, we should have no currency difficulty of a pressing nature. With a surplus revenue the currency would be necessarily contracted, and it must not be forgotten that the increase of business and the growth of population are now operating to reduce the *per-capita* quantity of money. There is now no way of increasing the legal-tender currency except by increasing the quantity of gold in circulation. It is evident that a large amount of money will be presently needed "to move the crops," and there will be little temptation under such circumstances to ask for gold in exchange for paper. The *Economist* seems to fail to recognize accomplished facts. Undoubtedly we were suffering some months ago from a very acute difficulty, whether it be called a fiscal or a currency difficulty. The bond syndicate saw that they could carry the Treasury through the emergency in a particular way, they made their agreement to do so, and they have fulfilled and are fulfilling it. The time for shaking of heads and questioning of hearts is past.

For a question which the general election had for ever shelved, and in a Parliament which was going studiously to ignore it, Irish home rule had a fair innings in the House of Commons on Thursday. The dynamite and blackguard section of the Irish party did little except to give Ireland new reason to pray to be delivered from such deliverers, and to afford Speaker Gully an opportunity to show that he will sternly uphold the dignity of his position and of the House against all Irish blatherskites. But the remarks of the new Chief Secretary for Ireland make it clear that the Conservative party is well aware it must do something for Ireland. Nothing need be looked for at this short session, but in time, it is evident, Conservative bills to remedy the anomalies of government in Ireland will be introduced. Then the whole dead question will show that it is very much alive. The Tories, in fact, have suspected all along that it was not dead, or, at least, as the Irishman said, if dead, was not conscious of it; and the remarkable steadfastness of the Irish electorate in the choice of Nationalist members has made them sure of it. The London *Times* was quick to declare that Lord Salisbury would have to do something for the Irish, if the pestilent fellows would only stand still and see the salvation which the Tories would offer them; and the *Spectator* outlined an "Irish policy for the Government," which was enough to make thorough-going Tories turn purple. According to this policy, the Conservatives were to endow liberally a Catholic University in Ireland, and make grants from the national treasury to Catholic elementary schools. Then they were to improve and extend the land act of 1881, provide for local or county government, and, finally, set up a central legislative body in Dublin "armed with the powers of Parliament in the matter of private-bill legislation." To justify these home-rule schemes, the *Spectator* coolly adopts the arguments which, in Mr. Gladstone's mouth, it used to call revolutionary and treasonable. It says the present scheme of governing Ireland is unworkable, is "a gross scandal, and ought to be put an end to." That is what the wicked Gladstone and the Liberals have been saying for ten years, and their plans differ only in detail from those which the *Spectator* now urges as a prime necessity.

The collapse of many speculative enterprises has led to an attempt to devise some new legislative protection for investors in England, and a very able committee appointed for the purpose has submitted a proposed bill for amending the law regulating the formation of corporations. The committee observes that "the Legislature cannot supply people with prudence, judgment, or business habits," and the changes that it suggests are, from our point of view, conservative enough. The proposed act does not go so far as to require the payment of the capital, or indeed any part of it, before the shares are all allotted, and the directors may fix the amount of subscription required at any amount. It is certainly not unreasonable to compel corporations to record their mortgages when private persons are obliged to do so; and it is no very harsh requirement that directors shall buy and own the shares which qualify them, or that they shall be held to the same degree of care which they take concerning their own property. Probably the most necessary reform, judging from English experience, is that which requires that every prospectus shall disclose all such information as will enable investors of ordinary prudence to form some idea of the enterprise. Every contract and fact must be advertised "which would influence the judgment of a prudent investor in determining whether he would subscribe for the shares or debentures offered by the prospectus." This provision is obviously salutary and in the interest of good business morals. It will at least have the tendency to check the practice of fraud under the cover of respected names.

Another failure of actual England to live up to the legendary England of the patriots is involved in the announcement that the Government of India has decided to withdraw from Chitral as soon as the movement is considered practicable from a military point of view. Thus the policy of Lord Rosebery's Cabinet in this matter appears to have been confirmed by Lord Salisbury. But the Jingoes will not be comfortless, for has not Bechuanaland just been annexed to the Cape Colony? Thereby hangs a little tale of Mr. Chamberlain's self-assertion as Secretary for the Colonies. He insisted that the bill providing for annexation should be amended so as to prevent the sale of liquor to the natives, and also so as to continue native jurisdiction in certain classes of crime. The sticklers for the independent authority of the Cape Government were furious, accused Mr. Chamberlain of officious and unwarranted meddling, and maintained that his sole constitutional right was to advise that a bill be vetoed. But Premier Rhodes was very calm and pliant, and accepted the Chamberlain amendments in order to meet the views of those squeamish people in England who "held the erroneous idea that the natives were badly treated." So the bill was finally passed unanimously on August 1. This did not prevent a good deal of muttering over the fact that in his first contest with the new Colonial Secretary Mr. Rhodes had come off second best.

The cable gave a brief account of an anarchist's attempt at assassination at the mines in Aniche, France, on August 4. From the detailed description of the affair in the French papers it seems to have been an occurrence extraordinary even in the records of anarchist exploits. The object of the assault was the superintendent of the mines, who had worked himself up to that position, from being a foreman, after fifty years' labor. A fête was offered him by the men under him to mark the rounding out of that period, and it was this occasion which a young anarchist seized to try to kill the superintendent, though happily he succeeded in putting an end only to his own wretched life through the premature explosion of his bomb. The event certainly throws much light on the rationale of anarchist hatred. Here was no grinding capitalist, no exploiter of labor, to awaken, in the cracked brain of the anarchist, rage and a desire for vengeance, but an honored and successful workman, reaping the reward of long fidelity, and popular with his fellows. Yet he is really precisely the kind of man to rouse anarchists to fury. They know very well that he is their deadliest enemy. If he is allowed to demonstrate that labor can be well paid and even honored, and that laboring men can be contented, in this corrupt social organization, the anarchist cause is wounded in a more deadly manner than it could be by a dozen heartless capitalists. Away with such a fellow from the earth!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE POINT OF VIEW.

It is easy to see and pleasant to record the international hypocrisies of our neighbors—as when Russia, after annexing in the last quarter of a century half a million square miles of territory on the road to India, protests unctuously against Japan's occupation of the Liao-tung peninsula; or when France, valiantly slaughtering her "protected" Hovas in Madagascar, fumes at England's industrial occupation of Egypt. But it is neither so easy nor so pleasant to remember that this is an insidious sin common to all "civilized" nations, and that the present outcry of the American press against outrages on foreigners in China is as good an example as Christian history has ever afforded of the mote and the beam. The American people should understand the state of their balance-account in this matter. Let us look at the items a moment, and then figure out the moral.

The following list, taken from our Foreign Relations Reports of the last twenty-five years, notes the recorded instances of outrages in China and in the United States which resulted in loss of life:

In China, in 1870, occurred the Tientsin massacre; nineteen French and Russians (including several nuns) were barbarously murdered by a mob and the mission premises destroyed.

In the United States, in 1880, came the Denver riot; Chinese dragged through the streets with neck-ropes; one killed, several wounded.

In China, in 1883, some Europeans on a carouse killed some Chinese.

In the United States, in 1885, came first (September 2) the Rock Springs massacre; a village of Chinese stormed and burned by 150 armed miners, inspired by Knights (!) of Labor; men and women, from noon till midnight, shot and looted the fleeing victims; twenty-eight were killed and fifteen wounded, fourteen were burned to death, mostly sick men, and the dogs and hogs ate the charred corpses. The whole population stood by and approved; a fruitless inquest, etc., followed. For this we paid $423,000. On September 7, at Seattle, the Chinese were expelled, their village burned, three killed, and several wounded. Early in 1886, at places in Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, and Oregon, twenty-eight were killed. In Juneau, Alaska, eighty-seven Chinamen were driven out and set adrift on the ocean in two small boats with no food. During this period the Chinese were expelled from a score of places on the Pacific Coast, and more than 100,000, it was said, fled to San Francisco in terror and destitution. For one year's work, including damage to property, we paid $275,000.

In China, in 1887, there were return-riots, on hearing the above news; but no lives were taken. In 1891, in numerous riots at Wuhu and elsewhere, property was destroyed and two British killed.

In the United States, in 1891, there was arson and robbery, with one woman burned to death in Vallejo, Cal. In 1894, in Oregon, ten Chinamen were ambushed and murdered; "Every one was shot, cut up, stripped, and thrown in the water," most of them being shot in the back.

This summary omits, on the one hand, two score or so instances of mere property damage or ineffective assaults at various times in China. It also omits, on the other hand, the countless unrecorded instances of personal assaults and property destruction of Chinese on the Pacific Coast—that period of systematic bedevilment in which scarcely a day passed when an inoffensive victim was not stoned in the streets or his property taken. It also omits the insolent practices of Americans (and others) in Chinese ports, where they are recorded as wantonly striking passers-by with their whips in riding and driving, or carelessly running down native junks without an effort to save the drowning crew. It also omits those forms of oppression of which the following opinion by an American Claim Commissioner is on record in our public documents:

> "It is a mortifying fact that were a balance to be struck between the aggregate losses suffered by Americans from Chinese pirates, Chinese thieves, and Chinese debtors, on the one hand, and on the other the injuries inflicted on Chinese merchants, tradesmen, compradors, and citizens, in the non payment of debts honestly due them by American merchants, agents, shipmasters, mariners, etc., we should find that balance to our debit in a ratio of fully 90 per cent."

Omitting, then, these lesser matters, what are the general features of the aggravated cases? On this side we find the Chinese invariably and unanimously acquitted of any provocation; they are conceded to be inoffensive in their conduct, industrious and useful in their work. On that side we find, in the missionary settlers at least, a similar absence of provocation, together with a highly useful activity. On this side, however, the Chinese compete for employment at exasperatingly low wages, and thus undoubtedly disturb the economic order to a serious extent. On that side, in a similar way, the missionaries come with doctrines and customs which, by the Chinese standard, pervert morality and overturn its basis, the family; while an unfortunate combination of circumstances has spread an ungrounded but often highly plausible belief that they kidnap Chinese children for their orphan asylums, and use babies' eyes and hearts as medicaments in their hospitals. On this side, consequently, we find sporadic outbreaks of violence by a turbulent and lawless class of the community. On that side, no different results follow; these recent killings of 1895, for instance, being the work of a band of marauding rebels.

In China, again, while decent people think about these things just as decent people do here, we find often a part of the intelligent class—officials and scholars—openly or quietly abetting; we notice, also, that strife is often excited for political ends. On this side, too, we find the Pacific Coast officials often conniving, seldom protesting, at the persecution of the Chinese, and constantly effecting a practical denial of justice; we also find the same nefarious use of popular feeling for political purposes. On that side we find these outbreaks consisting of robberies, lootings, and burnings, of assaults and "massacres"; on our side, too, we find theft and destruction, with cowardly and barbarous butchery.

Thus far the cases run on all fours. But there are two differences. First, the Chinese Government has never denied its duty to pay for all these things, and in the vast majority of instances the records show a full and fairly prompt payment. But it has been reserved for the officials of our enlightened republic to record themselves before the world as repudiating our liability to pay, and to relegate the Chinese to the tender mercies of a hostile local tribunal and a farcical justice; and the Rock Springs and other indemnities came as pure gratuities, thoroughly inadequate, pushed through a not too willing Congress. Secondly, the Chinese who have suffered here were undoubtedly in the simple exercise of their full treaty rights in settling and working where they were. But the missionaries who have suffered outside of the treaty ports were with equal certainty voluntary intruders where they had no right to settle; for missionary work in China (strange as it may seem) has been and is largely conducted by the aggressive occupation and persistent maintenance of stations outside of the stipulated treaty limits of residence. That these two circumstances of difference increase the credit side of our account would be difficult to maintain.

The moral, of course, is that if the Chinese are black in iniquity, then we are equally so; that if we prefer to think our people as a whole untainted by these sporadic excesses, the same conclusion must follow for the Chinese; and that a little more deliberation in the choice of vituperative adjectives is desirable. But this is, after all, some one will say, a merely scholastic question; historians and sociologists may reconsider their estimates of the Chinese, but it is useless to expect our general public to interest itself in such judgments. This is exactly the root of a serious fallacy. Our popular attitude in such matters is all of a piece. The bigoted heedlessness which is anxious to try our new warships by thrashing Chili, which conceives it a duty to rescue Hawaii and Cuba by force for "enlightened" government, which every year dares the British to knock chips from its shoulders, is one and the same with the conceited sanctimoniousness which denounces the whole Chinese nation as barbarous, and abuses our plenipotentiaries in China as "denationalized" and "Orientalized," while it overlooks the black score of oppression and butchery repeatedly inscribed by our own people within the past ten years. No doubt our eyes will some day be opened. Meanwhile, a decent regard for the *tu quoque* argument, and an intelligent study of the point of view of our foreign neighbors, are things which our press cannot too assiduously cultivate among our people.

AN OBJECT-LESSON.

It is reported that Mr. Speaker Crisp was present at the opening of Parliament and witnessed what must have been to him a striking spectacle, singularly illustrative of the effeteness of his native land. He saw organize itself a House of Commons known to contain an overwhelming

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

majority of Conservatives and Liberal Unionists, the parties whose coalition had utterly overthrown Lord Rosebery and Sir William Harcourt. He saw the Conservative member for the University of Oxford, that Toriest of constituencies, which threw out Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone for even coquetting with Liberalism, rise and nominate for reëlection the Speaker of the last House and predict his unopposed passage to the chair. So it turned out, and Speaker Gully, on resuming his seat by a unanimous vote, was congratulated by Mr. Balfour and Sir William Harcourt.

Yet Mr. Gully was a Liberal of the Liberals—a follower of Mr. Gladstone so long as he led the Commons; a declared opponent of all the views of Lord Salisbury, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir John Mowbray who nominated him. He had been Speaker only a very short time, and his selection to follow one of the most successful of modern Speakers occasioned considerable surprise. He was little known to the House, and to select him Sir William Harcourt had passed over several prominent Parliamentarians of both parties. How came it to pass, then, that a Conservative government caused his nomination by one of their stanchest supporters and had it understood there was to be no opposition? Simply because he had made an excellent Speaker; simply because, coming after one who had received such universal respect and regard in the chair as no other Speaker since Onslow—134 years—Mr. Gully had risen at once to the height of parliamentary approval. There could be no reason for the change except that the control of the House of Commons had passed into the hands of the other party, after a campaign of exceeding bitterness; and that, say the oppressed subjects of a monarch, is no reason at all. If you have got a good Speaker, keep him. Why not do so in Congress?

Mr. Crisp has been heard from in answer. He says, of course, that things in England and in America are very different; that our "system" would not allow a non-partisan Speaker; that the Speaker is recognized as the head of his party in the House of Representatives, and exercises power which can belong only to a party leader. But why? What power does he exercise which an impartial Speaker, chosen for his individual merits above party standing, cannot? In the first place, he appoints the committees. Now, be it observed, there is no necessary reason why the presiding officer should appoint the committees at all. The Senate of the United States selects its own committees, not the Vice-President. But, in point of fact, so far as the party character of the committees goes, our Speaker is already tied down in practice to a rule which might be administered by any one. The committees are selected from the adherents of both parties in such a way that the majority of the committee shall correspond to the majority of the House. In the Fifty-third Congress, where the Democrats were to the Republicans as about two to one, the important committees, consisting of fifteen or seventeen members, contained six Republicans, and the committees of thirteen contained five Republicans. It is not as selecting between the parties, but as selecting in each party, that the Speaker uses his power. In this device the Speaker has often shown himself anything but a loyal party leader, distributing places on committees by local and even personal interests. Few things could have been more insidiously dangerous to the Democrats than Mr. Crisp's selecting Mr. Bland for chairman of the committee on coinage; and in constituting the committee on ways and means he made the Republican third of it much stronger than the Democratic.

But the Speaker is expected in the House of Representatives itself to lead the business and shape the policy. Undoubtedly he does so, and in some respects the tradition is a venerable one, for undoubtedly Henry Clay was the active leader of the House in Monroe's Presidency. But that was a time when party in the present sense, or indeed in any sense, hardly existed. It was many years after 1825 before one of Mr. Clay's successors took an active part, as he did, in shaping the action of the House. But the present arrangement, by which the Speaker is a more active partisan behind the scenes, and occasionally in debate itself, than the chairman of the most important committee, the President, or any cabinet officer, is a comparative novelty and an utter abuse of the Constitution. Mr. Crisp played this rôle himself in the last Congress in a way that did his party no good and himself very little. He came down on the floor in committee of the whole, nay, when the House was in session, and wrangled with his predecessor with anything but a chairman's dignity. He pushed the Democratic caucus into defying the Senate on Tuesday, and then drove them into truckling to the Senate the next Monday, because there was a divinity hedging him, and no one dared to dispute his dicta, as they would those of Mr. Wilson, Mr. Cockran, or Mr. C. R. Breckinridge.

There has often been advocated in our columns the admission of cabinet ministers to the floor of Congress, to explain and enforce the measures of the Administration. Such a course would render the Speaker's partisan leadership of much less value. But without adopting this phase of English parliamentary government, there is not the least need of mixing up the duties of a dignified and impartial moderator with those of an astute, keen, combative party leader. Our present Postmaster-General showed himself amply qualified to perform all the duties of a leader of the House; he had many able lieutenants at his call when he was compelled to be absent. But the energies of the Democratic party were dissipated, its purposes diverted, its hold on the country lost, in large part by the unseen manœuvres and theatrical appearances of a Speaker who may profitably breathe the air of Parliament, morally as well as physically purer than that where he bore sway.

THE SUPREME COURT VACANCY.

THE recent death of Justice Jackson of the United States Supreme Court offers an unexpectedly early opportunity for restoring the geographical equilibrium of our highest bench, which has been disturbed since one of the nine judicial circuits was given three of the nine judges two years ago, and since a Louisianian a little later succeeded a New Yorker. John Jay of New York was appointed by Washington Chief Justice when the court was organized in 1789, and, except for an interval of twelve years after his resignation to negotiate the treaty with France in 1794, and the two years 1843 to 1845, the tribunal has had a representative of the Empire State continuously until 1893, the order of succession being Brockholst Livingston, who served from 1807 to 1823; Smith Thompson, 1823–1843; Samuel Nelson, 1845–1872; Ward Hunt, 1872–1882; Samuel Blatchford, 1882–1893.

The propriety of giving New York representation in this tribunal, on the ground of the exceptionally important interests, national as well as State, that centre in this commonwealth and enter into suits arising here, has thus been acknowledged from the foundation of the government. Mr. Cleveland recognized the weight of these considerations when he sent to the Senate in 1893 the nominations of two New Yorkers, only to have them rejected in succession, after which he named Senator White of Louisiana. The argument recurs with added force now that another appointment must be made.

Of the eight judges now on the bench, Gray of Massachusetts represents New England; Shiras of Pennsylvania, the old "Middle States"; Fuller of Illinois, the interior; Brown of Michigan, the northern tier of Western States; Harlan of Kentucky, the northern part of the South; White of Louisiana, the lower half of that section; Brewer of Kansas, the region between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains; and Field of California, the Pacific Coast. There are nine judicial circuits in the country. Six of these have now a representative in the Supreme Court, and one has two—the sixth, which stretches north and south so as to take in Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and Michigan. During Judge Jackson's brief service this circuit, composed of only four States, had three out of the nine places. Neither the fourth (Maryland, the two Virginias, and the two Carolinas) nor the second (Vermont, Connecticut, and New York) had a representative. There can be no question where the choice should lie between these two. Indeed, there is general agreement among news-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

papers throughout the country that the appointee should come from New York.

There is no lack of lawyers in this State who are well qualified by character, ability, and judicial temper for the place, and who would be sure of the Senate's approval. Character, ability, and temper are obvious tests of a lawyer's fitness to fill the vacancy. There is one other consideration, however, that ought to be taken into account, which has been too much neglected by Presidents of both parties during the past quarter of a century. We mean the question whether a possible appointee is of such age and bodily vigor that there is a good prospect of his being capable of efficient service for a long period. It is essential that a new judge should be qualified to ornament the bench; it is also most desirable that he should give promise of distinguished service for twenty or thirty years.

The Supreme Court has suffered sadly of late years through the appointment of judges who were too old and too weak for its exacting duties. A remarkable change of standards has come about in this respect during the past century, and it has been a change for the worse. The early Presidents made their selections largely from among men in middle life—even men "still young," to use an expression common nowadays. Chief-Justice Jay was not yet forty-four years old when he took his seat, and his five associates (the court then had only six judges) were forty-seven, fifty, fifty-four, and, in two cases, fifty-seven. From the foundation of the government till after the close of the civil war no appointee had reached the age of sixty, while among those in the earlier period James Iredell was but thirty-eight, Bushrod Washington but thirty-six, and Joseph Story and William Johnson but a few months past thirty-two.

Naturally enough, the average length of judicial service during the first three-fourths of the nation's existence was very great. If Jay had retained his place until his death (John Adams, by the way, wanted to reappoint him in 1801), he would have been Chief Justice forty years. A later Chief Justice, John Marshall, appointed at forty-five, sat for thirty-four years, and Story as long; John McLean, forty-four when appointed, and James M. Wayne, forty-five, each thirty-two years; Bushrod Washington thirty-one, and Johnson thirty; while four others of those appointed before the war sat from twenty-five to twenty-eight years. Indeed, it is an extraordinary fact that, leaving out of account those who resigned their seats, the average term of service for all appointees from Washington's day to Lincoln's was above twenty years.

Lincoln maintained the old traditions, and with the old result. Noah H. Swayne of Ohio, fifty-seven when appointed, sat for nineteen years, Samuel F. Miller, forty-five, for twenty-eight years; David Davis, forty-seven, would have served twenty-four years had he not resigned to enter the Senate; Stephen J. Field, forty-six, is now in his thirty-third year of service; and only Salmon P. Chase, fifty-seven at his appointment, but weakened by his exhausting work as Secretary of the Treasury, died after a brief term, lasting but little over eight years, during three of which he was an invalid.

Grant introduced the new system of appointing older men, even past sixty years of age—William Strong being in his sixty-second year, and Ward Hunt in his sixty-third, while Caleb Cushing had entered upon his seventy-fourth year when the President sent his name to the Senate as Chase's successor. Arthur appointed Samuel Blatchford at sixty-two, Cleveland named L. Q. C. Lamar at sixty-two, and Harrison nominated Howell E. Jackson at sixty-one. In more than one case, too, the aging man was far from robust when he entered upon the arduous duties of the place.

The results of this change of policy in the matter of age have been most unfortunate. In case after case the new judge has died in a comparatively short time, Lamar after five years and Jackson after only two; while in other instances he has soon become a wreck, like Hunt (for whose benefit a special pension act had to be passed when he broke down after a few years), or, when still strong enough for further service, has retired on a pension after ten years, as Strong did in 1880. The average length of service has been in consequence reduced more than one-half as compared with ante-bellum days. Nine judges appointed since Grant's first inauguration have died or resigned on pensions. The youngest of the nine was fifty-six when he took his seat, and the average length of their service fell short of ten years—less than half the average before Grant's day, up to which time the oldest appointee had been fifty-nine.

There should be a radical change in this matter. No lawyer should for a moment be thought of for the vacancy who is not below sixty years of age—and the nearer forty-five the better; and who is not a man in vigorous health, with an "expectation of life" as regards judicial service of twenty to twenty-five years. A bench of nine men who sit in final judgment on the affairs of a nation of sixty-five millions of people must not be recruited from the ranks of graybeards and valetudinarians who totter under the burden of their heavy duties, and eagerly await the day when they may save a fragment of life by retiring upon a pension.

THE TWILIGHT OF GREAT MEN.

Moved by the death of Von Sybel, the Paris *Temps* calls the roll of the great men who, in various countries, have gone within a few years past to join the mighty dead. Helmholtz and Huxley, Renan and Taine, Tennyson and Browning—these are some of the names upon which shadow now rests, and which stand for loss. Also do they stand, the French paper asserts, for the intellectual impoverishment of the present generation. Their successors are not visible, or, at any rate (which amounts to the same thing), have not taken, in public estimation, the vacant places. It is a veritable twilight of great men if not of the gods.

Such a plaint is no novelty. However ready the poet and the moralist may have been to assert that brave men lived before Agamemnon, they have never been so sure about what came after him. At any given time in the world's history, even just before a wonderful flowering of genius, despondent observers were doubtless saying that the race was approaching mental bankruptcy. Wordsworth in 1802 thought England and the world in general threatened with decay, though the century before him was to be starred thick with immortal names. But it would be idle to deny that there is a basis of truth in what the *Temps* asserts. We shall not look again upon the like of some of the great men whose departure it mourns. There is, from age to age, a change in the manifestations of human greatness, a different emphasis put upon it. Changed opportunities and demands make a changed product. Nature breaks her mould after each casting.

It is often said that democracy is fatal to individual distinction. The *Temps* thinks that the vulgarization of institutions carries with it that of intellect, and it is something of a coincidence that, almost at the same moment, the Prussian historian Von Treitschke, at a banquet commemorative of 1870, should have deplored the mental and moral bankruptcy of Germany, and attributed it to the fact that German society had been "democratized." Lowell seems to have spoken a juster word when he said that democracy had indeed a disagreeable way of interrogating the Powers that Be, but only for the purpose of finding out if they were the powers that ought to be. But there is little to be gained by attempting to draw inferences from such broad and vague premises. In the changing conditions of life and learning, in the growth of the human spirit itself, we can see more definite causes at work which, if they do not lessen the number of great men, make them appear great in different ways.

One such cause is, clearly, modern specialization. A leading characteristic of some of the great minds who have lately left the world poorer was their wide-ranging nature. A Darwin or a Dana, for example, worked in many provinces of science, and did fruitful labor in each. Where is the rising naturalist today who would not be appalled at the thought of venturing so far out of his groove? A scientist must needs have had his early training a good half-century ago to have so much as conceived the possibility of covering so vast a territory. What is now required, what is now fur-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nished, is drilling away at a single vein till its last filament is got out. A sufficient triumph of learning nowadays is such as that of Browning's grammarian —to have "properly based *oun*," given us "the doctrine of enclitic *de*." Prof. Foster, speaking of the bent of Huxley's studies, well says that any branch of science is always in want of a great man, but that it was a particularly fortunate thing that Huxley turned away from physiology when he did, to do work in morphology which was just then absolutely needed. The work which all departments now absolutely need is this sort of specialized work. Thus the conditions are wanting which produced the all-around intellectual giants of the past, and it would be foolish to look for their reappearance—at least just yet, or in as great numbers.

There is also, in the very mass and accumulation of knowledge, at once causing and caused by specialized learning, a subtle something which disinclines to original and creative effort.

"Child of an age that lectures, not creates,"

said Lowell ruefully of himself, before Chartres Cathedral. Well, lecturing is a kind of creation. To see and set things in their proper relations, to understand the science of the comparative, to keep one's head above the waves that beat upon the student from every direction—this is work for a great man. Certainly it is the kind of work to which our best minds are more and more forced to give themselves, and it must lend a peculiar note to the kind of intellectual greatness we should expect to be most frequent in the near future. It is a wise generation that knows its own great men.

We must reckon in, too, as an influence not favorable to the production of great men of the old type, the increased sophistication and self-consciousness of the present time. Some of the greatest men of the world have owed their fame in part to their ignorance, in part to their unconsciousness. If they had fully known what they were about, they either would never have undertaken it, or would have botched it in the process. Like Wordsworth's glad souls, they were great and knew it not. A keener sense of humor would have ruined many a hero. Certain kinds of greatness are compatible only with a sublime disregard of the reasonable chances of success and with an entire forgetfulness of self. But those qualities are rare in the modern world. We are great for figuring out the average. We insist upon knowing what the odds are. Nor can we take ourselves so seriously—or rather take ourselves so unconsciously—as our ancestors. No man now says, "Go to, I will be a great man," any more than he says, "Go to, I will make a new religion." The sense of the ludicrous has become too strong for us. How many American mothers now inform their first-born sons that they may be President one day? We say we know too much for that any longer. But this very decline in the prophecy and anticipation of greatness is one reason why greatness, at least of the old kind, dating from the time when more minds were "used to the approach of Glory's wings," may be expected to be rarer.

But none of these considerations, of course, touch the central mystery of human greatness, which remains a mystery when all is said. We may single out influences which affect second-rate intellects, but the origin, as well as the march and conquests, of a mind of the first class remains inexplicable. Such minds, of which the best account we can give is that they are dowered with genius and given a mission to accomplish upon which they wreak themselves as by an inner necessity, will doubtless arise, in unexpected ways, to bless or curse their fellows, in the future as in the past. We may yet, at any rate, share Wordsworth's confidence, even in his despondent mood, as respects the future of the race "sprung of earth's first blood." Our great luminaries *may sink below the horizon*, and the twilight of great men be apparently full upon us; but

"Fear not but that thy light once more shall burn,
Once more thine immemorial gleam return."

ALASKA REVISITED.—IV.

JULY, 1895.

WESTWARD from the Sitkan archipelago regular communication is confined to the mail-boat, a staunch little schooner with auxiliary steam power, which makes five monthly trips during the summer. For the rest of the year the dwellers in this part of Alaska must depend for communication with the outer world on the casual and infrequent visits of other vessels. The travellers on the mail route have hitherto been confined to those whose business demanded their presence, and tourists are practically unknown. The regular tourist route is so sheltered from wave and storm that the travel is almost like that on a large river, and sea sickness need not be feared by the most timid passenger. The western route presents different conditions. The voyage is largely on the open sea and has its full share of rough water. Only experienced travellers are likely to find compensation for its discomforts in the magnificent scenery by which those fortunate enough to have fair weather are repaid. Northwestward from Cross Sound to Yakutat Bay, about one hundred and fifty miles, extends the Fairweather range, a continuous series of peaks 5,000 to 15,000 feet in height, separated from the sea by only a few miles of lowland, chiefly of glacial moraine-stuff. Every valley or deep cañon has its glacier; the rugged forms of the mountains, due to the nearly vertical schistosity of the rock, are often grand in the extreme. The snowy slopes, seamed with projecting crags, are bordered below with dark spruce forest. The type of the scenery is not unlike that of Glacier Bay, so often described, but on a far grander scale, and much enhanced, under a sunny sky, by the broad expanse of sea.

This part of the coast has hardly been mentioned by travellers, and one must go to the Coast Pilot prepared for navigators to find any description of it. The graceful lines of volcanic cones like Rainier or Shasta are wanting here. The mountain tops are seamed and shattered; everything about them speaks of mighty forces, grim resistance, the strength that breaks but bends not, softened only here and there by the tranquil curves of immaculate snow. The few peaks of the range which give the effect of complete individuality usually exhibit two broad shoulders with a central prism-like peak, clear-cut against the sky. The finest example of this form, and to my taste the proudest mountain of them all, though not the highest, is Mount Fairweather, which fronts the sea with a dignity not surpassed by St. Elias. It supports five large glaciers, one of which enters the sea at the westerly arm of Lituya Bay. Beyond the mountain to the west several large glaciers extend nearly to the ocean. One, named by La Pérouse the Grand Plateau, when viewed near by appears like a vast limitless plain of snow, with narrow lateral and terminal moraines. At a distance of some fifteen miles off shore, however, a range of moderate height is seen to rise behind it. This to one who has first seen it from near by is very surprising. One can hardly believe one's eyes, though the explanation is simple enough, and I have lately seen the same effect produced by a near view of the Davidson glacier on Lynn Canal.

At Yakutat the range breaks, and is followed by the immense broken masses of the St. Elias Alps. Mt. Logan, the highest peak of all, is so far inland that it does not appear separable by the eye from the numerous nearer summits. Russell has made us familiar with this region, and especially with the enormous glacial plain which has received the name of Malaspina. At Icy Bay the ice comes down to the sea and the shores are low and muddy. Beyond Icy Bay all is undescribed along a stretch of 150 miles of coast. Here we have a range apparently composed of slaty rocks inclined at an angle of fifty degrees or more, and rising 6,000 to 8,000 feet above the sea. A single peak, Mt. Steller, its summit narrow but of the Fairweather type, dominates all the range and probably reaches a height of 12,000 feet. For one hundred miles the only landing-place is at Cape Yakhtaga between two projecting reefs. There are in the range a few recesses whose heads are occupied by glaciers, the descending streams from which make no obvious break in the straight coast line. In other places the steep mountain sides come down close to the beach. At about one hundred and thirty miles from Yakutat Bay the range recedes from the shore in a northerly direction, and the space between it and the sea is occupied by the great Bering glacier. This is an ice-lake of the Malaspina type, but more interesting, though not so large. For twenty-five miles its front comes down almost to the beach, and its surface, whiter than the Malaspina, is marked with two or three conspicuous medial moraines. It seems incredible that the mountains, fully thirty miles inland, can supply at present a sufficient mass of ice to cover to the height of a couple of hundred feet an area of more than 600 square miles. Yet the ice is there, and no other source for it now exists. This whole region teems with fascinating glacial problems.

The angle of the coast known as Cape Suckling is formed by an eminence which, but for the glacier that bounds it on the east and north, would be an island. Controller's Bay, shallow with deposits from the Atna River, separates the coast from Kaye Island. North of the latter is Wingham Island, smaller,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and between the two is an anchorage which formed Bering's landfall in his expedition of 1742. Here Steller landed for a few hours, and here the first white man set foot on the northwest coast above the Sitkan archipelago. The coast recedes northward in a wide bay, midway in which a sharp break in the mountains indicates the cañon of the Atna or Copper River. Most of the shore is occupied by the lowlands of the delta, behind which, at some distance, rise the snow-capped mountains. To the west, high wooded islands protect Prince William Sound. Ethnologically as well as historically this region is interesting, for here the Eskimo of the Sound, the Tinneh of the Atna River, and the T'linkit of Yakutat meet on common hunting-grounds to pursue the sea-otter and seal. Twenty years ago this region was a wilderness in which two or three small trading-posts existed which received their supplies and sent out their furs once a year. Now every native village has its trader, most of them two competitors for trade. Almost every large stream has its salmon fishery, from which the product is promptly carried in small steamers to some centrally situated cannery.

Fur-bearing animals are becoming comparatively scarce, and the prices realized are ten times what they once were, with a corresponding diminution of the trader's profits. This has produced an effect hardly to be anticipated, namely, that, in the case of some animals, preserves have been instituted on convenient islands leased from the Government, and "fox-farms" promise to become increasingly numerous. Some of the salmon fishers have had the sense to project hatcheries in connection with their business, though in several cases fisheries have been wholly destroyed by taking all the fish and leaving none to spawn. The Government regulations for the preservation of the salmon are believed to be generally ignored or complied with very imperfectly. The discovery of rich cod-banks in Bering Sea has drawn away some of the vessels from the Shumagin Islands, formerly the centre of this business in Alaska. Fortunately the sea fisheries are not, like the salmon, capable of being easily monopolized and destroyed. Two or three years seem likely to complete the destruction of the fur-seal, after which Alaska must rely for her prosperity chiefly on the salmon, cod, halibut, and herring. At present the laws of the United States do not provide for, much less encourage, settlement in Alaska, and every stick cut for a log-house is in infraction of law. Land is not so valuable here that Uncle Sam need grudge homesteads to actual settlers, or timber for local uses. With the fur-seal out of the way, a new era will necessarily begin for the Territory, and it is to be hoped that a rational policy towards settlers will no longer be delayed. W. H. D.

THE SOCIALIST SITUATION IN GERMANY.

BERLIN, August 2, 1895.

THE little town of Kolberg in Pommerania, so famous for the bravery displayed by its citizens during the Napoleonic invasion, was recently the scene of a somewhat remarkable incident. As is not unusual in German watering-places, the bathing establishments of Kolberg are under the supervision of the municipal government, and the principal hotel of the town, the so-called Strandschloss, is city property. As the dining-hall of this hotel is the largest hall in the town, it has come to be the customary meeting-place for political parties of every description. Some weeks ago Bebel, the Socialist leader, was to give an address in Kolberg. The local committee of the Socialist party applied to the Mayor for the use of the Strandschloss hall on this occasion, and the Mayor, himself a Liberal of long standing and a man without any Socialistic affiliations, granted the request. The meeting took place, and is universally reported to have been perfectly orderly and well behaved.

So far so good. But now the matter begins to be interesting. No sooner have the state authorities, the Landrat of the district of Kolberg and the Regierungs-Präsident of the province of Pommerania, been informed of the Mayor's compliance with the Socialist petition than they divine treason. The Landrat endeavors to induce the commander of the Kolberg garrison to withdraw the regimental band from the daily concerts in the Strandschloss Park; the Regierungs-Präsident countermands an official dinner which was to be held in the Strandschloss, and, at the same time, requests from the Mayor a prompt justification of the motives that have led him to an act calculated to endanger the commercial interests as well as the good repute of the city of Kolberg. And when the Mayor, in his reply, declares his conduct to have been actuated by the demands of simple, common justice, he is fined to the amount of ninety marks for misbehavior and neglect of duty.

Extraordinary as these facts are, they receive their proper relief only through the correspondence between Regierungs-Präsident and Mayor occasioned by them. The Regierungs-Präsident distinctly affirms it to be incompatible with good morals and public decency to have any relations whatsoever with "a party which has written the overthrow of the existing social order, of the monarchy, and the Christian religion on its banner." The Mayor asserts with equal directness that to deprive the Socialists of the rights granted to all other political parties is simply shutting one's eyes to the fact that of all German parties they are, numerically at least, the strongest:

"He who does not want to sit where Socialists have sat, will nowadays be somewhat embarrassed to find a seat anywhere in Germany; at least he cannot any longer travel in railway carriages. What we eat and drink is for the most part made by Socialists. Our clothes have been largely manufactured by Socialist workingmen. You cannot live in a new house in the building of which Socialists have not been engaged. In short, to avoid Socialists or to stigmatize them as a class outside of the pale of correct society is an absolutely futile task. Only by acknowledging them as a public factor on an equality with all other public factors can the social peace be furthered."

In this Kolberg incident we have in a nutshell the whole of the political situation in Germany with regard to Socialism. The Government, on the one hand, since the defeat of the famous anti-revolution bill, are more eagerly than ever resorting to a policy of small advantages and petty persecutions. Hardly a day passes without the conviction of some obscure enemy of society, or without the dissolution of some Socialistic organization. Since the courts in all cases of lese-majesty—one of the most common forms of Socialistic crimes—adopt secret sessions, it is impossible to get anything like full knowledge of this part of the anti-Socialist warfare. But there can be little doubt that the majority of cases is not very different from one which was tried before a Berlin court a few days ago and of which there was given out the following official report: "A butcher, Franz Rautenberg, having made some contemptuous remarks about the Emperor, was convicted of lese majesty. Although the utterances incriminated were not of an out and-out insulting nature, the court fixed the sentence at six months' imprisonment, since the defendant had already served a previous term of two months for blasphemy, and consequently must be considered as predisposed to criminal acts of this kind."

In cases like this it is only an individual, and perhaps a worthless one, who is hurled by the defenders of morality into utter moral ruin. But it is not individuals only, it is above all the party organizations against which the saviours of society direct their hollow weapons. That in Hamburg a few weeks ago one hundred and fifty working-women were fined fifteen marks each for belonging to a club in which political matters were discussed (the privilege of forming political organizations being reserved to men), may have been reported even in American newspapers. Less striking, but none the less significant, is a case which recently happened in Cöpenick, a little town near Berlin. There exists in Cöpenick a Socialist Wahlverein, comprising some twelve to sixteen members, who meet as a rule every two weeks. At one of their last meetings they were surprised to see a policeman enter at ten o'clock and demand an adjournment, on account of the *Polizeistunde* having struck. The members of the club naturally protested against this action, pleading that their club as a closed society was not subject to the ordinary police regulations. But the Oberverwaltungs-Gericht, before which, as the highest tribunal, this protest, in the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, was carried, decided that inasmuch as the club in question had *not* a fixed membership, but could be joined on payment of a small fee by any sympathizer with the Socialist cause, it was *not* a closed society; that its meetings were not private meetings, but public gatherings, and therefore subject to all the regulations which are in force for public gatherings; that, in short, every one of its meetings must be announced beforehand to the police authorities and must be attended by a police officer.

It is clear that this decision of the Oberverwaltungs-Gericht, if carried out consistently, will put a speedy end in Prussia to all political clubs which, for one reason or another, are inconvenient to the Government. For it would be hard to find a political club of any description the membership of which was not equally elastic with that of the Cöpenick Wahlverein, and would not consequently come under the same kind of police supervision. And it is not surprising that already the larger Socialist organizations, as, for instance, the Berlin Freie Volksbühne, which at present is a body of some 8,000 members admitted by the payment of a small fee, are preparing for voluntary dissolution, of course only in order to carry on their work unmolested by official interference, under the disguise of some other less compact and palpable form.

While the Government is thus wasting its strength in the futile attempt to fight the Socialist propaganda with petty police annoyances, the country seems to be resistlessly drifting into the arms of this very propaganda.

It is a sad fact, but it is none the less a fact, that, twenty-five years after the foundation of the German Empire, German party life has reached a degree of confusion hardly less obnoxious than was the absence of all parliament-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ary institutions under the old Bundestag régime. There is actually not a single German party, except the Social Democratic, which, either on account of its mass or the consistency of its programme, can in any sense be considered an active public force. The Conservatives, naturally the allies of a Government which for generations has been accustomed to rely principally on the unwavering support of the landed gentry, have been forced into a perfectly untenable position through their exclusively agrarian policy and their consequent opposition to the governmental policy of a tentative free trade. The Centre party, since the death of Windthorst, the only man who was able to control its centrifugal tendencies, is more and more tending towards an open rupture between its feudal and its radical elements. And, what is most momentous of all, the very class which, after all, has had the largest share in securing to Germany her present position as a leading Power among the nations of the world in intellectual, industrial, and commercial progress—the *bourgeoisie*—is politically reduced to absolute impotence: whatever there is left of the old Liberal party is a mere name and shadow.

It is only natural that this condition of things—a condition unquestionably brought about through the Bismarckian policy of playing off one party against another without allowing either to obtain a share in the Government—should have led to a general discontent and uneasiness throughout the German land, the intensity of which it would be hard to overestimate. The farmer declaims against the commercial treaties with Russia and Austria, which are ruining his wheat trade; the manufacturer rebels against the burden imposed upon him through the accident- and old-age insurance laws, the bureaucratic provisions of which make the larger part of the contributions intended for the benefit of the laborer go to maintain an army of petty administrative officers; the small tradesman and artisan clamor against the ruthless monopoly of Trusts, and demand the restitution of the old-time guilds; and everybody is disgusted with a Government on which it is impossible to place any reliance, a Government which will undo to-morrow what it has done to-day, a Government which is nothing but a tool in the hand of a restless, impetuous, swaggering, and incredibly conceited sovereign.

Is it to be wondered at that, under these circumstances, the only party which is unwilling to make any compromise with the ruling system, which stands unwaveringly by the programme of a radical democracy, should rapidly increase its ranks? Is it, in other words, to be wondered at that the Socialist party is fast developing into the only formidable opposition party, so that the time may be foreseen when the Socialist leaders will at the same time be among the foremost leaders of Parliament?

That the new literature, which is characterized by the names of Sudermann and Hauptmann, is altogether on this side need hardly be stated; but it is interesting to note that the Socialistic quality of this literature has recently found an official confirmation through the Emperor's cancelling his subscription to the Deutsches Theater after the immense success at this theatre of Hauptmann's "Die Weber," while a German adaptation of "Charley's Aunt" was at the same time the object of most enthusiastic praise from the lips of the imperial critic. It is, however, not only in the drama that the Socialistic undercurrent of the time bursts to the surface. The same is the case in the domain of science and religion. Men like Wagner, Paulsen, Naumann, honest and devoted royalists though they be, are nevertheless each in his own way helping to destroy the royalist fiction of the Socialist party as a child-devouring monster; they are helping to bring on the day when the Socialist party will embrace all the liberal elements of the country, when it will have converted itself altogether into a party of peaceful, though radical, reform. That the party has for years been developing in this direction is a fact which only the blindest fanaticism can deny. The time is long past when the Socialist meetings were gatherings of the mob. To-day the Socialist organizations which devote themselves to the elevation of the masses, to the spreading of moral and political enlightenment, to the cultivation of science, literature, music, and other forms of intellectual refinement, are legion. To-day, it is a principle adopted by the rank and file as well as by the leaders of the party, that the only way to combat successfully the ruling system of militarism and officialdom is the peaceful revolutionizing of minds, not a violent convulsion of the social order. And if the present development is allowed to go on unchecked by international conflicts or other complications, we may look forward to the formation of a party resting on the broad masses of the working population and the small trades people, but reaching out into the sphere of the well-to-do burgherdom and yeomanry; and this party will control the majority of the Reichstag. When this moment arrives, the real struggle for civic freedom in Germany will begin.

KUNO FRANCKE.

Correspondence.

MISSIONARY WARS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: At a moment when an outpouring of vengeance upon the Chinese for their outrages on missionaries appears to be impending, it may be useful to recall a passage in the Diary of Lord Elgin, who was sent out as the diplomatic representative of England in China at the time of the opium war. On the day on which the passage was written Lord Elgin was lying off Canton, which, with its crowded population, was presently bombarded for twenty-seven hours.

"*December 22nd* [1857].—On the afternoon of the 20th, I got into a gunboat with Commodore Elliot, and went a short way up towards the barrier forts, which were last winter destroyed by the Americans. When we reached this point, all was so quiet that we determined to go on, and we actually steamed past the city of Canton, along the whole front, within pistol-shot of the town. A line of English men-of-war are now anchored there in front of the town. I never felt so ashamed of myself in my life, and Elliot remarked that the trip seemed to have made me sad. There we were, accumulating the means of destruction under the very eyes, and within the reach, of a population of about 1,000,000 people, against whom these means of destruction were to be employed! 'Yes,' I said to Elliot, 'I am sad, because, when I look at that town, I feel that I am earning for myself a place in the Litany immediately after "plague, pestilence, and famine."' I believe, however, that, as far as I am concerned, it was impossible for me to do otherwise than as I have done. I could not have abandoned the demand to enter the city after what happened last winter, without compromising our position in China altogether, and opening the way to calamities even greater than those now before us. I made my demands on Yeh as moderate as I could, so as to give him a chance of accepting, although, if he had accepted, I knew that I should have brought on my head the imprecations both of the navy and army and of the civilians, the time being given by the missionaries and the women." (*Letters and Journals of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin*, edited by Theodore Walrond, p. 212.)

The last words, "the time being given by the missionaries and the women," are especially worthy of notice. In the early days of missionary enterprise the missionary went without wife or child into the lands of the heathen, taking his life in his hand and looking to no government for protection. Now he takes with him his wife and children, and expects the Government of his own country to protect him and them with its cannon, and, if they are maltreated, to avenge them. A missionary unprotected by his government would be under some restraint in dealing with the prejudices of his people.

In demanding the punishment of the guilty at the hands of uncivilized officials, you run great risk of obtaining the punishment of the innocent. I think I have heard of a Turkish Pasha who, being called upon for reparation, took a few heads at random from the nearest village. A Chinese Mandarin is not unlikely to do the same.

The Chinese portions of Lord Elgin's Diary altogether are very wholesome reading for people who are inclined for high-handed dealing with weak and half-civilized peoples.

Yours faithfully, G. S.

Notes.

MR. HENRY C. LEA'S new historical work on 'Confession and Indulgences' is, we believe, now in the printer's hands.

'The Connection of Thought and Memory,' by Herman P. Lukens, is in the press of D. C. Heath & Co.

J. B. Lippincott Co. will have ready by Sedan Day, September 1, 'The American in Paris,' by Dr. Eugene Coleman Savage, who deals with the military and diplomatic phases of the Franco-Prussian war.

T. Y. Crowell & Co. announce 'Some Famous Leaders among Women,' by Mrs. Sarah K. Bolton.

A limited edition of an illustrated work of fresh research on the Chevalier d'Éon will be published in England in October by Tylston & Edwards.

W. M. Rossetti is preparing for publication a volume of poems by his sister Christina, which have not yet seen the light. His oldest daughter is preparing for her aunt's admirers a 'Birthday-Book.'

The British Government has acquired from Lord Bridport some dozens of volumes of Nelson's correspondence. These valuable papers now form part of the treasures of the manuscript department of the British Museum. In due course they will be indexed and made available to historical students. A volume of Nelson's correspondence has also been sent to the Museum by the Admiralty. Over and above the intrinsic value of its contents, this volume is interesting as showing that Nelson kept press copies of some of his letters, to which will be found subscribed the signature "Nelson and Brontë." The medals worn by Nelson at the time of his death have been deposited at Greenwich Hospital.

The value of the Calendars of State Papers from time to time issued by the Public Record Office, London, is highly appreciated by all students. The Calendars of the Colonial series are simply invaluable to students of the colo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nial period of American history. The deepest concern must be felt by those interested when they learn that, since the lamented death of Mr. Sainsbury, in the early part of this year, no arrangements have been made for continuing the preparation of the Colonial Calendars. The Deputy Keeper of the Records, Mr. Maxwell Lyte, C.B., has put so much heart into his work since he has presided over the Public Record Office, that students will be much surprised should that distinguished official not cause arrangements to be made for the continuance of the work of calendaring the Colonial Papers either by Mr. Sainsbury's former assistant, Mr. Sharpe, or by one of the other members of the highly qualified staff which works under the direction of Mr. Lyte.

M. Léon Ottin, who holds a high rank as a designer and maker of stained glass, and has already written a practical work on the subject of his art, now addresses himself to the cultivated public in 'Le Vitrail,' which is to be at once an historical manual and a guide to the best extant glass of the present day. The book will be carefully illustrated, and will appear in February, 1896 (Paris: Laurens; New York: Dyrsen & Pfeiffer).

Mr. J. H. Hobson has shovelled together a batch of papers upon topics connected with British agriculture, which he publishes under the title 'Coöperative Labor upon the Land' (Scribners). While most of the papers are mere scraps, some are not without importance, and from the whole it is possible to derive a pretty clear impression concerning the future of the rural parts of England. Between 1851 and 1891 the census returns show a decrease in the number of agricultural laborers from 1,253,000 to 781,000. During the last twenty years about 2,000,000 acres of land formerly tilled have been converted into permanent pasture. The two phenomena are, of course, connected with the fall in price of corn and in the scale of rents. The fall in rents, however, is at last having some effect in breaking down the reluctance of the landed interest to grant allotments. This interest has hitherto pretty generally succeeded in neutralizing the measures intended to enable laborers to own small pieces of land, preferring to keep them under control as tenants. But the landlords are not so arrogant as they once were, and, what with reductions and arrears of rent and untenanted farms, they are beginning to feel that they may, after all, do worse than consent to cut up their property into allotments. Some interesting reports of progress in this direction are to be found in Mr. Hobson's volume; but the variety of subjects touched upon is too great for our further notice.

Macmillan & Co. publish a translation of Prof. Ugo Rabbeno's work on 'The American Commercial Policy.' The book consists of three essays: one on the commercial policy of England toward the American colonies, the second on the causes of the commercial policy of the United States, and the third on our theory of protectionism and the historical circumstances of its development. While these lectures doubtless interested those who heard them in Italian, the necessity of translating them is not obvious. American readers have easy access to the materials used by Prof. Rabbeno, and his ground has been well covered by American writers. Nor is it too much to say that the theory of protection developed by the Philadelphian school of economists, which Prof. Rabbeno examines with much gravity, does not require serious consideration.

A handsome quarto comes to us from the Werner Company (Chicago and New York), entitled 'Beautiful Britain: The Scenery and Splendors of the United Kingdom, Royal Residences, Homes of Princes and Noblemen, Palaces, Castles and Houses, Beauties of Mountain, Lake, and River.' This enumeration covers nearly everything depicted, unless it be the Crown jewels in the Tower. There are a number of interiors; but externally the castle, the palace, the seat furnish by far the greater number of the plates, which are excellent full-page half-tones, and are often striking in the extreme. Each plate is faced by letter-press cut to one measure, and hence not to be criticised for falling short. The volume is calculated to give much pleasure and no little information.

A bulky 'Monograph of the Order of Oligochaeta,' by Frank Evers Beddard (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan), well exemplifies one of the most pronounced tendencies of modern science. It is a valuable addition to scientific literature; yet, treating only of the order of worms of which the common angle-worm is a familiar example, it will interest few besides the specialist. This order is subdivided into some fourteen families, more than a hundred genera, or more than six hundred species. In the bibliography there are more than six hundred and fifty titles, of which eighty-five are from publications by Mr. Beddard himself. The illustrations on the plates, and the fifty or more in the pages, are taken up mainly with anatomy, which occupies also about one-fifth of the text. Massive as the book is, there are places in the descriptions where it has the appearance of being too much condensed. From this one, an estimate of the probable size of a work on these worms to include those of the great extent of our earth not yet explored is somewhat startling. Everywhere the treatment indicates that this monograph is from the hand of a master. It is certainly a grand achievement.

Knowledge of the Bahamas, as of marine bank- and reef-formations in general, is much enhanced by the publication, in the Bulletin of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, of Alexander Agassiz's 'Reconnoissance of the Bahamas and of the Elevated Reefs of Cuba in the Steam Yacht *Wild Duck*.' It is monographic, especially in what relates to geology and topography. Its pertinence is not limited to the Bahamas, since in treatment of upheavals, coral formations, etc., research is extended to Cuba, other islands of the West Indies, and to various parts of the world. The foundations of the Bahamas are laid in upheaval and folding (volcanic or other) of the primary rocks; the superstructure, in æolian rocks largely made up of coral sands, shell débris, etc., from the waves. A subsidence of about three hundred feet, determined through the "ocean holes," has left only the æolian formations at the surface in the Bahama region. The coral sands were supplied by barrier or fringing reefs in positions not greatly differing from such as are now occupied. In Cuba the evidence from the terraces and elsewhere is found to favor successive upheavals, and the reef deposits are shown to form but a thin veneer. Due attention is paid to the life, marine and terrestrial, by the author, than whom there is no one more competent. There are numerous figures in the text. Fourteen of the forty-six plates are maps with soundings; the remainder are artotypes which give admirable ideas of the topography, rocks, vegetation, and scenery in the different islands.

A 'Narrative and Preliminary Report of the Bahama Expedition,' by C. C. Nutting, in a recent issue of the Bulletin of the University of Iowa Natural History Laboratory, is an outcome of a three-months' voyage, by about twenty students and professors, for marine study and collection, on a 116-ton schooner, from Baltimore to the Bahamas, Cuba, and the Florida Keys. The experience was one of the great events in the lives of its participants, and, as it was very successful, it is likely to serve as a pattern for a number of similar undertakings by others. The whole affair was well managed, it was without serious mishap, and its results must be gratifying indeed to friends of the University. The benefit to the latter is continuous, as will become more obvious with the publication of reports on the large collections now in the hands of specialists. Individual expenses were small, only about $200, and members of the party sold from their shares of the specimens enough to clear this, leaving but the time to be accounted for. Prof. Nutting's narrative is full of interest, contains a great deal of important observation of a value more than temporary, and forms a handbook for subsequent expeditions. We notice that he decides that flying-fish do really fly like birds. The present writer, however, from the same species, in study of their flight, their fins, and their muscles, was driven to conclude that these fishes did not, and could not, strike downward and backward, as birds do, to propel themselves in the air, and that the fluttering occasionally seen was merely a slatting, a temporary lapse in control, perhaps, in a struggle to adjust the parachutes to pressure from new directions.

The head of the Public Library at Brookline, Mass., deserves credit for the admirable shape in which his 'Catalogue of English Prose Fiction' appears. In place of the large, awkward two-column page hitherto universally employed for such work, he has chosen a page of 7¾ by 5¼ inches. This change renders the book portable, and favors the eyes of every reader. The type, also, is clear without the distracting prominence often given to headings, and the paper is excellent. The cataloguer's work is less well done than the printer's. Books are ascribed to the wrong authors, authors' Christian names are omitted or wrong ones are given, pseudonyms are accepted as true names, married women are entered under husbands' names, or twisted so that the first has become last and the last first (or middle), books by the same author are entered under different names, and different editions are treated as different books. The title-page of this Catalogue asserts that "historical works [are] indicated." This is true, however, of only a portion of the books of this class, and the selection of books to be indicated seems to rest on no principle whatever. As regards the quality of the collection, it is interesting to note, in these days when the social influence of novels is so much discussed, that this library keeps in circulation a full line of the trashiest novels in existence.

M. Jean Rozane's 'Maldonne' (Paris: Colin) is an earnest attempt to write a novel in which facts and psychology, love and morality, shall go hand in hand and charm the reader, be he sentimental, artistic, or scientific. The result attained is, as might have been expected, heaviness and dulness.

'Une Évasion—Souvenirs de 1871' (Paris: Colin) is a well-written, brief account of the escape, from a German prison camp, of the late Auguste Burdeau, some time President of the Chamber of Deputies, Minister of Marine, and Minister of Finance. In 1870, while still a student of twenty, he volunteered, went to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the front, rose to be sergeant, distinguished himself, and was finally taken by the enemy. He twice tried to escape, first with three companions—they were all retaken; next, alone—he succeeded. This little book tells the story in a spirited fashion.

'Les Mercredis d'un Critique,' by Philippe Gille (Paris: Calmann Lévy), is the collection in book form of M. Gille's brief newspaper reviews of recent books. It has no great importance, but may be consulted to advantage occasionally.

Few would suspect M. Albin Valabrigue of deliberately writing a serious book on serious subjects, and yet this is just what he has done in 'La Philosophie du Vingtième Siècle' (Paris: Bibliothèque Villiers). In it he discusses some of the very grave questions which men are called upon to face at the present moment, and, if he is neither dull nor slow, he is none the less in earnest. His book well repays reading.

The *Colonial Magazine*, founded this month by Bosworth, Hyde & Hyde, New York, is a presentable monthly which will seek its support chiefly in the membership of the shoal of half-sentimental, half-antiquarian patriotic organizations whose cult is the Revolution. It is illustrated, in the manner of the day, by "process" portrait and views, and seems likely to commend itself to its audience.

The principal feature of the *Geographical Journal* for August is Mr. J. T. Bent's account of his recent exploration of the frankincense country. This is a small strip of the southern coast of Arabia, about sixty miles long by ten wide, well watered, and of course very fertile. There are numerous ruins of ancient towns scattered over it, and the remains of at least one commodious harbor now inaccessible from the sea. The frankincense of commerce is found in three large groves in the mountains which separate the coast territory from the central plateau. Each tree is the property of an individual Beduin owner, who cuts the stem in the early spring, collecting the gum about once a week till the summer rains set in. The gum is sold to Banyan merchants, who export it to Bombay—the annual product being about nine thousand hundredweight. These Beduin are a wild race who live chiefly in caves and under trees, using reed huts only during the rains. They are regarded by the Arabs as heathen, and apparently speak a language peculiar to themselves. A map and several interesting illustrations accompany the paper.

The proposed "Nile Reservoir" is the subject of an interesting paper in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for August by H. D. Pearsall. He gives a brief, but clear, description of the different plans and the object sought, which is mainly the perennial irrigation of a large part of Upper Egypt. By this means two crops, and on some lands three crops, can be raised each year. This second or summer crop is by far the most valuable, averaging fifty dollars an acre, or three times as much as the flood crop. Should the scheme be carried out in its entirety, the increase in the value of the annual crops is estimated at over sixty million dollars. Mr. Pearsall pertinently asks if some means should not be sought to secure the people at large in the enjoyment of some of the benefits arising from this great increase of the national wealth. Unless this is done, the land-owners, not a half of the population, would alone profit by it, and the laborer's condition remain unchanged. He suggests that some of the surplus revenue to be obtained should be spent in simplifying the system of land tenure and in equalizing, as well as reducing, taxation.

The political meeting called at Thingvalla shortly before the opening of the Icelandic Althing, to discuss various reforms, was not a success. A third of the eighteen districts into which the island is divided sent no representatives, and the result of the discussion may be regarded as practically nil. Unlike their Norwegian cousins, the Icelanders are filled with all the conservatism of an insular folk, and they turn a deaf ear to the blandishing words of a political agitator.

—The most interesting feature of the current number of the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, apart from the account of the newly discovered hymn to Apollo, is M. Homolle's description of a view of Athens and its environs, painted before 1680, which was lately exhumed from a bric-à-brac shop and is now preserved in the Museum of Chartres. There is, practically, no doubt that it was executed by Jacques Carrey, who accompanied the Marquis de Nointel to Athens in 1674, when he visited that city as Ambassador with a numerous retinue. The group of personages in the foreground represents evidently some episode which occurred during this visit. The landscape against which they stand is a view of the Acropolis, the city and the neighboring country, taken with almost photographic fidelity, from the slope of Lycabettus. By the precision of its date, the minuteness and accuracy of its detail, and the merit of its composition, the painting should take the first place among views of Athens of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. M. Pottier throws some definite light on the mooted question how far and how early archaic Greek statuary was influenced by Egyptian models. He concludes that if the influence existed, it did not appear earlier than the second half of the seventh century, and then only in regard to certain details. The feminine type was earlier practised and formed by native Greek artists, and owes hardly anything to Egypt, except, perhaps, the attitude of advancing the left leg. The masculine type, such as the archaic athletes and Apollos, is more decidedly influenced by Egyptian models, especially for the attitude just mentioned. The exact road by which the influence was conveyed is now proved by some alabaster statuettes found at Naucratis, and by some terracotta statuettes of Phœnician workmanship preserved in the Louvre and figured in the *Bulletin*. The Egyptian type of these is obvious at a glance. The Greek artists were therefore guided in two ways—first, by the works of Greek sculptors settled in Egypt, secondly, by imported Phœnician copies and imitations.

—In 'Polyclète,' by Pierre Paris ("Les Artistes Célèbres"—Paris: Librairie de l'Art), we have an admirable example of that art of guessing which constitutes the science of Archæology. There is not a fragment in existence which anybody pretends is from the hand of the contemporary and rival of Phidias, yet archæology undertakes, with the aid of a few ancient texts and a number of statues which may be copies of his works, to reconstruct that sculptor's artistic personality, and to give an idea of his style, his peculiar merits, and his limitations. M. Paris is by no means the most audacious of guessers, and frequently finds himself obliged to protest against the extraordinary conclusions of Furtwängler; yet M. Paris himself can proceed only by conjecture upon conjecture. There is a statue in the Naples museum of a young athlete. Of this M. Paris remarks:

"L'idée de rapprocher cet homme jeune et vigoureux . . . du Doryphore de Polyclète naquit d'abord dans l'esprit de Brunn; l'honneur d'y reconnaître une copie directe du Canon revient à Friedrichs (en 1863). Cette opinion, qui rencontrait encore des contradicteurs en Peterson (1864) et Conze, est acceptée de tout le monde depuis que Friedrichs a fait connaître une intaille du Musée de Berlin où le *même personnage, dans la même position* et dans le même style, est nettement caractérisé comme un Doryphore."

This is the initial guess, and, in view of the fact that other Greek sculptors than Polycletus have produced statues of Doryphori, it can hardly be called other than a guess, however brilliant or plausible. From this conjecture proceed all the others, for it is in virtue of the idea of Polycletian style formed from this statue, at most an inferior copy, that all further identifications are made. It is accepted as the "canon" in a double sense, and becomes the standard of judgment for all works which one may be tempted to refer to Polycletus.

—Of course it is only in this way that archæology can proceed; and as long as we remember that even the most brilliant conjecture is not proved fact, there is little harm done. M. Paris is fairly cautious, and only one of his conclusions seems to us to approach the danger line. In the "Villa des Pisons" at Herculaneum were found two bronze busts evidently pendants. One, resembling the Doryphorus, is signed; the other, a female head, not. "Si, donc, la tête de Doryphore est bien la copie exacte de la tête du Canon, . . . il est impossible d'admettre que la tête qui lui servait de pendant soit autre chose que la copie de la tête de l'Amazone." Why so? Is it impossible or even improbable that a Roman gentleman should have copies made for him of two favorite heads, whether or not the originals were by the same artist? And is the resemblance of this head to that of the Berlin Amazon sufficiently great to assure us that they are copied from the same original in spite of the entirely different pose? The illustrations given do not show any such identity, and the attribution of the original of the Berlin statue to Polycletus on these grounds seems to us somewhat hazardous. Such of the illustrations as are half-tones from photographs are fairly good. The drawings range from indifferent to downright bad.

—M. Salomon Reinach has published as a separate pamphlet an article of his in the *Revue Archéologique* on 'Epona, la déesse gauloise des chevaux' (Paris: E. Leroux). Engravings of sixty different images of the goddess, twice the number hitherto known to archæologists, are here given, accompanied by notes and maps indicating their original geographical distribution and present repositories. Several of these images, which are all of small size, in terracotta, stone, and bronze, and almost invariably show the figure mounted on the right side of the animal, have been heretofore taken for representations of other female characters (Europa, a bacchante, Isis, Vitellia, a peasant woman, Ceres, Julia Mammæa), or even for a postilion; but M. Reinach unhesitatingly recognizes in them the Celtic goddess. In another series of twelve illustrations, with descriptive text, Epona appears seated or standing between two or four horses or colts, while the group found at Bregenz, on Lake Constanz, represents the deity mounted, with four other horses at her side, thus forming a connecting link between the two. The Greek and Latin

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

texts which make mention of the humble goddess of the stable, together with thirty-eight inscriptions bearing her name, are collected in a third chapter of the brochure, but unfortunately reveal nothing concerning her effigy or the origin of her cult. In his concluding pages M. Reinach combats with vigor the views of Becker, Lindenschmidt, and Peter, according to whom the figures in question represent not Epona but mounted matrons, good or evil fairies, while Corson's theory, claiming for Epona a place among indigenous Italic and Roman divinities, is still more severely dealt with. Arguing from the geographical distribution of the monuments and inscriptions of Epona, as well as from the exotic form of the name (the *p* and short *o*), M. Reinach considers the Celtic origin of the goddess as incontrovertibly and definitively established.

—The latest pious labor of Mme. Jessie White Mario for the remembrance by a generation that knows them not of the Italian revolutionists, disciples of Mazzini and comrades of Garibaldi, is her 'In Memoria di Giovanni Nicotera' (Florence: Barbèra). This duodecimo volume of less than 300 closely packed pages is, though a loving tribute from an intimate friend and correspondent, not a mere eulogy; and it deals so much with the general history of the peninsula from the founding of Young Italy to the present moment that any one can read it with profit apart from the judgment he may form of the immediate subject. As a political prisoner of the Bourbons, Nicotera experienced in Sicily inhumanities as incredible as are the authentic accounts of the degraded habitations of the poor of Naples, which Mme. Mario has done so much to make public. He survived to become an Italian Deputy for thirty-five years of a life of sixty-six, and twice Minister of the Interior, when he stamped out brigandage. He proved less radical in office than out, was a firm believer in parliamentary government by party, and hence mistrusted coalition ministries, yet showed independence and patriotism in voting with men of other parties, and, on the whole, appears in these pages to advantage in comparison with Crispi, from whom he became detached when the latter, with Zanardelli, entered the Depretis ministry. Mme. Mario quotes at length from his always forcible speeches as well as from those of his contemporaries.

—In 1879, dissatisfaction with the Italian Senate led to an agitation for a reconstitution of that body by popular election, Nicotera made a stand against it, advancing arguments of much weight, applicable to a similar movement in this country. In the course of his speech he had occasion to compare the American Senate with that of Italy, and in so doing revealed a degree of ignorance unpardonable in a statesman of his rank, if, on the other hand, natural in a country whose press habitually used the rubric *America* for news from *South* America. Nicotera gravely assumed that, as a means of enforcing his veto, the President of the United States had the power to renew the Senate by one-third—of course selecting men favorable to his policy! The genesis of this confusion may, perhaps, be sought in the constitutional provision for a two-thirds vote overriding the veto; but also at bottom there lay the misconception of our Executive as governing in the same sense as do the European ministries modelled after the British system. In the San Domingo business, what would not Grant have given for the power to alter the complexion of the Senate as of his Cabinet!

—Among the contemporary historical writers of Italy few, if any, surpass Senator Luigi Chiala in those qualities which constitute a first-rate editor. His introduction and notes to Cavour's Correspondence were full of information which becomes more and more valuable as the generation which knew Cavour disappears. Senator Chiala has recently published a monograph on one of the most exciting episodes of the latter part of Cavour's life: it is entitled 'Politica Segreta di Napoleone III. e di Cavour in Italia e in Ungheria, 1858–1861' (Turin: Roux). It relates in straightforward style the intrigues which Cavour, and subsequently Napoleon III., carried on with Kossuth prior to the war of 1859, with a view to provoking a revolution in Hungary that would draw off Austrian troops from northern Italy. Kossuth was wary, and, although eager to close a bargain by which he hoped to recover the independence of Hungary, he refused to give the word until France and Piedmont should furnish a sufficiently large contingent. To one who imagines that diplomacy is necessarily a competition in deceit, this record of Cavour's perfect frankness may be a surprise. Before the outbreak of the war of 1859, he was too much hampered by his engagements with Napoleon to have the right to act independently; afterwards, while encouraging the Magyars to the fullest extent in words, he found no moment when he would have been justified in making a formal offensive and defensive alliance with them. "We aim at the liberation of Italy; you hope to emancipate Hungary; we have a common enemy, but I have not the right to jeopard Italy for Hungary, nor you to sacrifice the Magyars for us." This was, in substance, Cavour's policy with Kossuth. Several times the opportunity for a league seemed at hand, but it never came. Kossuth's part in these negotiations was made public fifteen years ago, in his 'Memories of My Exile.' Senator Chiala supplements Kossuth by presenting from Cavour's edited letters and from other sources the Italian and French versions of the episode, and he has thus made a consecutive story full of interest and illustrating an important side-current of modern history.

VERRALL'S EURIPIDES.

Euripides, the Rationalist: A Study in Art and Religion. By A. W. Verrall. Cambridge, Eng.: University Press; New York: Macmillan. 1895.

THE main title of Dr. Verrall's new book is quite unworthy of his genius. 'Euripides, the Rationalist,' is entirely too commonplace. "Euripides, the Pietist," would have been a theme in which he might have unfolded to greater advantage his rare powers of combination, whereas to show that Euripides was not a "believer" is simply to follow the orthodox view. However, Dr. Verrall may be trusted to treat any subject he takes in hand after a fashion of his own. It is a bright fashion, an ingenious fashion, but somehow it does not abide, it does not convince. There, for instance, are his 'Studies in the Odes of Horace,' in which he evolved marvellous things out of the "operose lays" of the "Matinian bee." Said Matinian bee, if Hartman and Tyrrell are half right, was more concerned about the shape of his cells than about the flavor of his honey, and is not to be suspected of wilfully infusing Italian wild thyme into the nectar which he gathered largely from Greek originals. But there are undoubted allusions in Horace to contemporary history, and Quintilian enlarges on one of his allegories. Now, as so much has been done for Pindar by subtle combination, and as we know a great deal more about the times of Horace than we do about the times of Pindar, why not enter in and possess this land with historical cobwebs? Why be satisfied with such well-worn parallels as Cleopatra and Helen? Why not penetrate into the meshes of the great conspiracy of Murena? So here. It is evident enough that Euripides did not believe in the gods, nay, that he died an infidel. If he had not died an infidel, Aristophanes might have been more merciful to him in the "Frogs"; and as to the "Bacchæ," which Dr. Sandys calls an *Eirenicon*, why, it is easy enough to show that it is a deliberate persiflage. Teiresias, the seer, clearly represents the poet himself, and when Teiresias gives his adhesion to the new cult, he figures as a materialist under thin disguise. The new gospel is a gospel of Something to Eat, Demeter, and Something to Drink, Dionysus. Behind the outward conformity we see the Sage of Ferney with his tongue in his cheek. Teiresias is simply a more refined Cyclops.

"Wealth, wealth, my manikin, is the wise man's God!"

It is an old story, and nobody cares to deny the thesis in its general terms. Rationalism itself was an old story in Greece, and if it had not been for the religious revival brought about by the Persian war, quite comparable with the religious revival brought about by the Franco-Prussian war, Euripides would not have had any "mission." A century before Euripides, in his dreadful "Andromache," was making mock of the traditional Apollo, Xenophanes was outspoken in his condemnation of the behavior of the Greek Pantheon as represented by hieratic Hesiod as well as by secular Homer, of whom nothing better could have been expected. Pindar refused to accept anything that was dishonoring to the gods, and treated Homer very much as the freethinkers of the last century treated the Old Testament. Æschylus shows plainly enough the doubts that stir his heart, and his justification of the ways of God to man did not bring him peace. Sophocles, good, easy man, was an office-bearer in Church and State, and observed the proprieties. But who, from the modern point of view, could be more "blasphemous" than Aristophanes? His treatment of the gods is simply "scandalous," and has called forth long dissertations in every European language from scholars who have tried to explain how Aristophanes could be a church-member in good and regular standing and yet assign to Hermes the menial office of washing tripe. True, in modern times Bible and catechism have been accommodated to every form of belief and unbelief, but it is hard for us to imagine so plastic an embodiment of religious notions as we find in the mythology of Greece.

In fact, if we examine closely, we shall find ourselves asking, Where was faith found in the fifth century? The reserve of Thucydides is a commonplace; but Herodotus, who is held up to us as the model of a believer, was a believer because faith suited his style, and, like his friend Sophocles and like many another man, he simply abode in the creed to which he was born. True, all this scepticism was not inconsistent with superstition any more than scepticism is inconsistent with superstition to-day, nor was it inconsistent with a practical con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

servatism in religious matters, which is perfectly comprehensible from a study of the Constitution of the Athenian State. But Dr. Verrall thinks that we have unconsciously taken up the Renaissance view of the Greek Pantheon; that we do not understand how serious the Athenians were about their "gods"; that we do not understand that Euripides's infidelity had reached an acute stage; that he deemed it to be his mission to expose the fraud of Greek religion, and that his dramas were constructed to sap and mine the absurdities and inconsistencies of popular belief. One cannot help asking how the poet could have got a chorus, for it is not to be supposed that the officials were less clever than the average Athenian; and although the average Athenian may not have taken all the points that Dr. Verrall has discovered, the Tom Paine attitude of Euripides in the handling of the myths would have been too great a scandal to be tolerated in a religious performance such as was the Greek tragedy. It is very much to be feared that the deep-laid design was too deep-laid even for the quick-witted Athenian. Certain it is that this most unbelieving of the poets imposed his mischievous versions of the myths on the plastic and ceramic artists of after-times. Ennius, who translated and transfused Euripides for the Romans, was also an unbeliever of the most uncompromising type, and wrote rationalistic essays after the Greek; but the impiety in Ennius, as in Euripides, was what may be called dramatic impiety, and not dramaturgic impiety, and affected only the sentiments put in the mouths of the various characters.

But what Dr. Verrall insists on is the dramaturgic rationalism, or, in other words, the presentation of the story so as to bring discredit on the traditional gods. His contention is that, viewed from any other point, the dramas of Euripides are open to all the objections raised against them by modern critics, and that it is impossible to see in Euripides anything but the "botcher" Mr. Swinburne has made him out to be. But, regarded as a cunningly contrived wheelwork for the pulverization of Greek religion and Greek tradition, the dramaturgy of Euripides, according to Dr. Verrall, deserves the highest admiration as an artistic achievement, and his popularity with the "advanced" Athenians is readily understood. These advanced Athenians were, it seems, not so slow to take a hint as are the fat-witted countrymen of George Meredith, whom Dr. Verrall repeatedly cites as a kindred master in the art of implication. In short, Euripides is that dreadful character known as a quiz, and from that day to this he has lacked an interpreter. Vase-painters and sculptors were deceived by him; translators and adapters of his plays failed to understand him; the great scholars, from the Renaissance downwards, with whom he was a prime favorite, were blind to his real significance; and the Grecians of this century, who have been made aware of the divergence of his ways from those of Æschylus and Sophocles, and who have not the key to the unhallowed delights of Euripidean mockery, decline to read him because they do not enjoy him. How many new friends Dr. Verrall will gain for his Euripides remains to be seen. Possibly some of the slow creatures for whom he has so little regard may suspect Dr. Verrall himself of mystification; but there is a passage at the close of the book which ought to dispel all doubt—a passage in which he reiterates his views with a solemnity that is hardly to be confounded with the pious utterances of Euripides's sham pillars of the church. "Euripides's stories," he says, with all the emphasis of italics, "*assume that 'the gods' do not exist;* and unless we are alive to this, unless we keep it *always* before us, the best of Euripides, the essence of Euripides, must be sealed up from us." Without this key, "all is confusion, vexation, waste of spirits and time. Euripides was a soldier of rationalism after the fashion of his times, a resolute, *consistent* enemy of anthropomorphism, a hater of embodied mystery, a man who, after his measure and the measure of his time, stood up to answer the Sphinx"—the Sphinx being, as Dr. Verrall explains elsewhere, "the spirit of mystery and darkness."

It would be impossible in any reasonable space to follow Dr. Verrall's exposition of his thesis as applied to the Euripidean plays that are discussed in this volume, and it must suffice to summarize the main results. The "Alcestis," according to Dr. Verrall, was intended to set forth the falsity of a resurrection from the dead, and Euripides's treatment of the theme is flippantly compared with an imaginary play, "The Shunamite, by Prof. T—— H——." Euripides asked himself the question of Job, "If a man die shall he live again?" and in mockery of an affirmative answer he gives an account of the recall of Alcestis from the lower world, which to the discerning Athenian public reveals the absurdity of the sham miracle. In the "Ion" the action of the play proceeds on the assumption that there is no Apollo, and that the oracle is a fraud. But with this view of the "Ion" the public has already been made familiar by Dr. Verrall's translation, published in 1890. The "Iphigenia among the Taurians," it is true, is "one of the few plays of Euripides which are explicable on the current hypothesis; is one of the few, the same few, which are loved and studied, known and admired for their own sake, and apart from the collateral interests of Hellenistic philology and archæology," and yet "the deepest part, the real substantial *tragic* foundation, is cut away. Orestes and Pylades are sacrificed to the relentless cruelty of a religion in danger." "The resolute faith and the invincible love of the two friends are *wasted*." Upon this follows a chapter headed "Euripides in a Hymn" (I. T. 1234 foll.), in which Dr. Verrall undertakes to prove that Euripides's object in this brilliant ode is to show up the mercenary character of the Delphic oracle; and in the "Last Scene of All," the close of the "Phœnissæ" is explained as the composition of an admirer of Euripides, who thanks Sophocles covertly for his tribute to his dead rival, and praises Euripides under the guise of Œdipus for his quelling of the Sphinx.

There has been, as every one knows, a return to Euripides, and scholars no longer find it necessary to admire under protest the brilliancy of his dialogue, the haunting charm of his lyrics, the swing of his descriptions, the truth of his pathos, his close sympathy with every throb of human heart or human brain. Even the economy of his plays has found more indulgent criticism, and in criticism indulgence and intelligence go oftener hand in hand than is commonly supposed. Much, it must be said too much, allowance has been made for the rehandling of the original poems, for the botcher who interpolates, the botcher who excises, the botcher who tacks on. Slowly, for it is slow work, we are approaching a juster estimate of Euripides than was possible for those who read but to praise and those who read but to pick flaws. A faultless dramaturgist he was not. Who is? The detection of inconsistencies, comparatively so easy in the closet, is absolutely impossible for the average spectator, even putting the average so high as it was in the Athenian theatre. The average spectator does not pull out his watch and say with Dr. Verrall, "Why, she has been dead only five minutes!" But, instead of looking upon negligence as negligence, instead of admitting such a thing as negligible quantities in a work of art, Dr. Verrall considers every incongruity as part of a deep design in the mind of the poet. Of course, he is far too clever to suppose that the Athenian intellect in the crowded theatre was quite so alert as his own intellect in the still air of Trinity College, and so he imagines the spectators as gradually evolving in conversation after the play the hidden meaning of Euripides's innuendoes, very much as the Hamburgers formed clubs of four in order to understand one joke of Rivarol's. Dr. Verrall is himself equal to a dozen such clubs, and under his manipulation the evidences of elaborate mystification increase and multiply.

'Euripides, the Rationalist,' is very acute, very clever, though it must be confessed that in the long run it is wearisome by its excess of sparkle. On the spider-webs of the German Athena who does most of this kind of spinning, we seldom find so many glittering dewdrops, for in the land of erudition to be "geistreich" is little short of a philological crime. However, we will not hold Dr. Verrall to too strict an account for being interesting; and yet it may be well to remember that acumen, ingenuity, cleverness of presentation, and power of combination are no guarantee of an abiding result. In fact, "the power of combination" is a very much overrated "power." The ancient Sophists did a great deal in the way of combination simply for intellectual fun, and those who are familiar with the history of literary criticism will readily recall many brilliant theories that have passed into the domain of curiosities. And so, while admitting freely all the seductiveness and suggestiveness of Dr. Verrall's book, one cannot suppress the thought that, the world being as dull as it is, there is little likelihood that the Euripides whom we are trying to know now will be definitively replaced by Dr. Verrall's 'Euripides, the Rationalist,' with his nihilistic network of torpedoes which have remained unexploded until the year of grace 1895.

MEMOIRS OF AN IRISH JUDGE.

Memories and Thoughts of a Life. By William O'Connor Morris. London: George Allen. 1895. 8vo, pp. viii, 402.

Judge William O'Connor Morris was born in the city of Kilkenny in 1824. His father, a minister of the late Established Church, was of "the English in Ireland," sprung from a race of Staffordshire freeholders who emigrated to Ireland in the reign of Charles I., had become merchants of good position in Waterford in the time of Queen Anne, and subsequently settled on the land as country squires. Judge Morris's mother belonged to the clan of the O'Connors of Offaly, who for three centuries were great princes, but in the seventeenth century had been nearly extirpated and their lands forfeited. Her great grandfather left Ireland to seek his fortunes in England, where he conformed to the Protestant faith in order to become a member of the English bar, and acquired enough wealth to enable him to buy back a portion of the old Irish estates of his ancestors.

Judge Morris takes pride in his ancestry and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in his connection, through the marriages of the O'Connors, with the great Catholic families of Ireland, concerning whose vicissitudes and romantic fortunes he relates a number of interesting anecdotes. Many of those with whom he can claim kinship turned Protestants, as the only means of making their way in the world, and became prominent members of the Irish bench and bar. He mentions especially Anthony Malone, "who was one of the great Irishmen of the first half of the eighteenth century, . . . and became Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Irish Parliament." Another was Edmund Malone, the editor of Shakspere. Of those who clung to their ancient faith, and were forced to find a career in the armies of the Continent, he names Field Marshal Nugent of the Austrian Army, who "was a colonel on the field of Austerlitz, distinguished himself greatly in 1813-14, was Radetzky's most trusted companion in arms in the memorable campaign of 1848, and rode by the side of his master, Francis Joseph, near Solferino, when in his nineteenth year. In the Ireland of his youth he would have simply been a pariah of somewhat high degree."

Morris and his younger brother received their education at home until the former was ten years old, and he says that by that time they "had had governesses and tutors enough to force the brains of children into precocious growth. Those were the days of hard training for the youthful frame and of hard teaching for the boyish mind; and I well recollect how I was boxed and cuffed if I missed a word in a page of Johnson—a lesson I was supposed to know by heart." In compliance with the custom and policy of the dominant race in Ireland, he was sent to England to be educated, and in his twelfth year was placed in a private seminary at Epsom, where there were about thirty boys, five sixths of them Irish. He remained there for about four years, on which he does not look back with satisfaction, and was then sent to a private tutor in South Wales to be prepared for Oxford, and went into residence at Oriel College in 1843. He had, before that, competed for a scholarship at Trinity, which was, however, awarded to Edward Freeman. Of his fellow-students at Oriel he mentions Tom Hughes as the one who became most famous. Bryce and Goschen were of a later generation of undergraduates. Newman was a Fellow of Oriel at that time. Among the younger Fellows were Arthur Clough and Church, who became Dean of St. Paul's. In 1844 Morris was elected to a scholarship. He speaks in terms of the warmest affection and eulogy of Oxford as it was before the days of educational reform. "The education of Oxford," he says, "was admirable. I have met no system that can be compared with it." And, elsewhere: "The old Oxford method, indeed, can, I think, be traced in Parliament, in the pulpit, and at the bar without difficulty by those accustomed to it; it was seen in the highest perfection in Newman's logic, in the subtle and persuasive tongue-fence of Gladstone, in the arguments of Bethell and Roundell Palmer, always cogent, well-informed, and complete." He developed an early turn for writing, and relates that his college tutor, Fraser, afterwards a bishop, ridiculed his style as "turgid" and "Celtic," and said to him, "You will be just fit to write for the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Times*, and you will never understand what pure English is." To which our author adds: "I do not know if the last remark is correct; the first, certainly, has been amply verified." Among Oxford undergraduates of his time, but of other colleges, were Conington, the translator of the 'Aeneid'; Matthew Arnold, Goldwin Smith, and Coleridge, late Lord Chief-Justice.

Morris had made up his mind to go to the Irish bar, but in consequence of the Irish famine the poverty of the gentry was such that for nearly three years after taking his degree at Oxford, he was unable to scrape together the £100 required as the fees of a law student. He devoted the interval to continuing and enlarging his Oxford studies, giving many months to Plato, reading Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill, studying Irish history, and performing the duties of an (unpaid) justice of the peace, having been appointed a magistrate by Lord Rosse, the constructor of the well-known telescope, and the Lieutenant of the Kings County. It was at this time, also, that he made his first literary attempts, contributing to the *Dublin University Magazine* papers on the Greek dramatists and on other subjects, writing for the Dublin *Evening Packet*, and publishing a pamphlet on the Irish land question. During one of his visits to his grand aunt, Lady Clanricarde, in Dublin, he witnessed the "enthusiastic and passionate acclaim which everywhere greeted" Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. "I took no part in the Castle festivities," he adds; "a Court dress was far beyond my means."

At last his name was entered at the King's Inns in Dublin, where he studied for eighteen months, going thence in 1852 to Lincoln's Inn in London for the purpose of eating his dinners for the bar for ten months, as was required of Irish students in those days. Among the lectures he attended were those of Henry Sumner Maine, who was reader in jurisprudence and Roman law. In 1854 he was called to the Irish bar, and was in the practice of the profession for nearly twenty years.

About eight years after his call to the bar he was "elected one of the professors at the King's Inns who lecture law students in part of the Common and the Criminal Law. These offices had been founded by the Irish Benchers before the English had appointed their readers." The appointment is held for three years. In 1863 he was appointed the legal member of the Salmon-Fishery Commission. He had married in 1858, and had opened the door to his literary career by writing a paper on "The Land System of Ireland" in the 'Oxford Essays' of 1856, through which he made the acquaintance of Henry Reeve, the editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, also known as the translator of De Tocqueville and as the editor of the Greville Memoirs. Judge Morris has been a contributor to the *Edinburgh* for nearly forty years, writing in that time some forty essays, mostly on military subjects and in review of French works in biography and history, and has written for many other periodicals. His connection with the London *Times* began in 1857 and terminated with the death of Mr. Delane, its editor, in 1879. By degrees he became one of its principal writers of book-reviews, mostly on History and the History of War. He contributed to it a series of articles on the correspondence of Napoleon and on the supplementary despatches of Wellington. Some of his reviews extended to eight and ten columns; one, on the evidence in the trial of Bazaine, occupied about fifteen columns. Of late he has written a good deal for the London *Academy*. In the spring of 1869 he was asked to write a series of letters on the Irish land question for the *Times*, and made a three months' tour of Ireland for the purpose of studying the problem on the spot. He records that he had no instructions from Mr. Delane and Mr. Walter except to ascertain and set forth the truth. The letters were republished in a volume. He is the author of several other books, namely, 'Great Commanders of Modern Times' (1891); a sketch of the French revolutionary period, intended to be one of the "Epochs of History" series; a Life of Napoleon, in the "Heroes Series"; a study of Moltke; a brief account of the war of 1870-1, reprinted from the *Times*.

In 1872 he was appointed County Court Judge of Louth. "The office of County Court Judge in Ireland," he says, "is of much older origin than it is in England, of greater importance, of higher dignity. The judges have a large jurisdiction, unrestricted by modern statutes, in cases of crime, not possessed by their fellows in England. Their civil jurisdiction, too, is far more ample." But the main distinction is that in England they may be dismissed by the Lord Chancellor, while in Ireland they are removable only by a vote of Parliament. In 1878 he was transferred from Louth to Kerry, where he served for eight years and found his duties very laborious and disagreeable, owing to the disturbances caused by the Land League. At his own request he was transferred to the Counties of Roscommon and Sligo, where he still presides.

Judge Morris's life, it will be seen, has not been an eventful one, but that of a man useful in his generation and ambitious to be of service to his fellows. His book abounds in interesting pictures of a peculiar state of society, constantly undergoing radical changes, and in lifelike sketches of Irish lawyers and judges. By far the greater portion of it is taken up with the Irish question, which, in all its varied forms and phases, seems constantly to occupy his "Memories and Thoughts" and comes up in connection with every topic he touches. He throws a side light on its social aspects when he says that, as he belonged to a Liberal Protestant family and had a number of Catholic kinsfolk, the distinction which divides Irish social life was not observed in his case, and adds: "Yet I found myself often to be the only Protestant in an assembly wholly composed of Catholics. I seldom saw a Catholic under a Protestant roof." He also mentions the fact that up to 1792 no Irish Catholic could openly become a member of the bar. Although a Liberal, he is a decided Unionist and an uncompromising opponent of home rule. Although a Protestant, he condemns the late Established Church, and extols the Catholic Church as "a great living fact," saying that its growth "during the last half century has been a wonderful spectacle." Although a land-owner, he denounces as iniquitous "a mode of land tenure, precarious in itself, which gave a landlord facilities to appropriate a tenant's improvements." He censures the Land Act of 1881, and proposes a plan of his own. He thinks "the tenant should be given a perpetual and definite estate in the land, and that the landlord should possess a perpetual rent." He has also his own plans for political measures to allay discontent. They could not fairly be set forth in the space at our command, and would meet with disapproval in both the hostile camps. But, whatever may be thought of his opinions, it is evident that they are the fruit of much serious study and reflection. Undoubtedly instructive are Judge Morris's descriptions and history of the various movements that have agitated Ireland during the past half century, and of the events that led to them. He devotes separate chapters to the Irish Famine, the Land League, the National League,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Irish Local Government, etc. No one can doubt his patriotism or his sincere desire to arrive at the actual truth; and no one will deny him the right to use the motto from Montaigne which he places on his title-page: "Ce livre est de bonne foi."

Demon-possession and Allied Themes; being an inductive study of phenomena of our own times. By Rev. John L. Nevius, D.D., for forty years a missionary to the Chinese. Fleming H. Revell Co. 1894.

How the belief in demoniacal possession (which is one of the most articulately expressed doctrines of both Testaments, and which reigned for seventeen hundred years, hardly challenged, in all the churches) should have become the utterly dead letter which it now is in Christian countries, is an interesting historical question on which the present reviewer is unable to cast light. Its decay is far less intelligible than the decay of the belief in witchcraft, which Mr. Lecky has so vividly attributed to an unreasoned alteration of the intellectual fashions of the age, for most of the old witchcraft-accusations rested on direct demon-testimony, and the phenomenon which announces itself as demon-possession has never ceased since men were men, and is probably as frequent at the present day in New York and Boston as it ever has been at any time and place in history. It follows at all times the local and temporal fashions and traditions, and, from causes which, once more, would form a highly interesting problem to unravel, it has with us assumed a benign and optimistic, instead of a diabolical and hurtful form, constituting what is familiarly known to-day as *mediumship*. It differs from all the classic types of insanity. Its attacks are periodic and brief, usually not lasting more than an hour or two, and the patient is entirely well between them, and retains no memory of them when they are over. During them, he speaks in an altered voice and manner, names himself differently, and describes his natural self in the third person as he would a stranger. The new impersonation offers every variety of completeness and energy, from the rudimentary form of unintelligible automatic scribbling, to the strongest convulsions with blasphemous outcries, or the most fluent "inspirational" speech. Imitation is a great determining factor, and suggestions from the bystanders are readily adopted and acted out. Exorcisms of various sorts often succeed in abolishing the condition, and the possessing spirit often makes treaties and compacts with the bystanders and carries them faithfully out. The condition may become epidemic, as in our own "developing circles," or in those Alpine villages whose "hystero-demonopathy" has recently been so well described by the French and Italian medical officials Constans, Chiap, and Franzólini; but more often it is sporadic and individual. At any rate it is a perfectly distinct and it may be a perfectly spontaneous "morbid entity" (as a Frenchman would say), or natural type of disease, and its essential characters seem to have been quite constant in every age and clime.

Of its causes, apart from suggestion and imitation, absolutely nothing definite is known, the psychical-researchers being the only persons who at present seem to believe that it offers a serious problem for investigation. The Charcot school has assimilated it to hysteria major, with which it unquestionably has generic affinities, but just why its specific peculiarities are what they are, this school leaves unexplained. The name hysteria, it must be remembered, is not an explanation of anything, but merely the title of a new set of problems. The tendency to prophesy, to profess to reveal remote facts, to make diagnoses and heal diseases, are among the commonest features of the demonopathic state.

Dr. Nevius is vouched for by the two editors of the book before us (he having died before its publication) as a singularly learned, versatile, and accurate man. His volume contains, in addition to a large amount of comparative natural history of the subject and a mass of bibliography, a number of interesting first-hand observations made in China. As in the Grecian oracles, in India, Japan, Polynesia, and elsewhere, the possessed person is in China prone to speak in the name of a god. This god often demands a shrine, worship, incense, food, and burnt-offerings from the household, and throws the patient into convulsions if these are withheld. Sometimes, again, a departed relative or other human being announces itself as the possessing spirit, but we seem not to hear in China of fox-demons as we hear of them in Japan. Dr. Nevius's book contains a great variety of cases, of which we have not space to extract a specimen. They are collected by missionaries or native Christian converts, and the remarkable thing about them is the almost invariable efficacy of Christian rites and invocations in setting the possessed person free. In China the name of Christ would seem to have even greater power to drive out demons than it had in Europe in the ages of faith.

One case related by the author has a curious analogy to one of the New Testament miracles. Two women of a Chinese village having been dispossessed by Christian services,

"an extraordinary commotion occurred among the fowls, . . . who after a while cowered up in a corner of the yard in a state of fright. The swine also belonging to the family . . . were put into a singular state of agitation, rushing about the enclosure, running over each other, and trying to scramble up the walls. The swine would not eat, and this state of disquiet continued until they were exhausted. These manifestations naturally excited a great deal of interest and remark, and were accounted for by the supposition that the demons had taken possession of the fowls and swine" (p. 406).

It is but just to say that this particular account is at second hand, the witnesses being a Chinese family of converts. Such as it is, Dr. Nevius's book is one of the best contributions to the natural history of the subject, and a stepping-stone towards that not yet existing book which some day will treat this class of phenomena in a thoroughly objective and unprejudiced way, bringing it into comparison with all the other features of the "subliminal" life of which it is one modification.

Major James Rennell and the Rise of Modern English Geography. By Clements R. Markham. Macmillan & Co. 1895. [The Century Science Series.] 8vo, pp. 232.

It is a singular fact that Great Britain, with possessions in every part of the world, should have produced so few geographers. She has sent out a host of distinguished explorers who have added vastly to our knowledge of the earth, but the task of constructing "the mother of all the sciences" has been left mainly to Continental scholars. Had not the subject of this biography been incapacitated early in life from active service, it is not impossible that England might have had to wait another half-century for a great scientific geographer. The story of Major Rennell's uneventful career is quickly told. He was born in 1742 and enlisted in the navy as a midshipman at the age of thirteen. In 1763 he entered the service of the East India Company and was made Surveyor-General of Bengal. Badly wounded in a fight with the natives in 1766 (not 1776, as Mr. Markham incorrectly states), his constitution was permanently injured. This and his arduous labors in connection with his field survey compelled his retirement in 1777. The remainder of his life was spent in London, where he won for himself by his maps and his writings the place of "leading geographer in England, if not in Europe, for a period of fifty years." He died in 1830 and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Major Rennell had this immense advantage over many other great geographers, D'Anville and Ritter, for instance, that he had been a surveyor, both afloat and ashore, before he devoted himself to the study of geography as a science. Much of his work, therefore, has a value beyond that of a mere contribution to knowledge. His investigations of the Atlantic currents, for example, by which he became the "father of oceanography," distinctly diminished the perils of navigation. It was he, it may be added, who first conceived of the Gulf Stream as "an immense river descending from a higher level into a plain." His first important published work was a 'Memoir of a Map of Hindustan,' which passed quickly to a second and third edition by 1793, and gained for him the Copley Medal of the Royal Society. Following this was his 'Geography of Herodotus,' which, together with the 'Illustrations' of the Anabasis, was part of a contemplated great work on the 'Comparative Geography of Western Asia,' for which he gathered all the materials, but which he did not live to complete. In addition to these and other books, he contributed papers to learned societies besides aiding the various exploring expeditions of his day. He was especially interested in Mungo Park's travels, and he prepared the map which accompanied Park's account of them.

It is hardly necessary to say that no one is so well fitted as Mr. Markham to be Major Rennell's biographer. He is in full sympathy with the latter's pursuits, and has the requisite knowledge to enable him to put a just estimate on what he accomplished. In fact, the book is more than a biography; it is a condensed history of geography, with sketches of distinguished geographers from Strabo down to Sir Henry Rawlinson. His abundant knowledge, indeed, leads Mr. Markham to be needlessly exact in minute, especially genealogical, details. Occasionally he errs in taste, as, for instance, when, mentioning by name some relatives of Mrs. Rennell's, he says, "the ——s lived in a very expensive style, and Mr. —— drove a four-in-hand, so that when he died, in 1790, he left his property much embarrassed." Apart from these petty blemishes, he has produced a valuable book, and one as interesting as the nature of the subject would permit. A useful index is appended, but we miss, what would have been even more desirable, a chronological list of Major Rennell's works.

Mental Development in the Child and the Race: Methods and Processes. By James Mark Baldwin, M.A., Ph.D., Stuart Professor of Psychology in Princeton University. With 17 figures and 10 tables. Macmillan. 1895. Pp. xvi, 496.

It is not to be concealed that this book is not well written. The author himself makes no

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

effort to do so—he recognizes it rather with a charming frankness. He speaks of the conflicting aims he had in writing it, of his inability to hit upon an arrangement of his material that would satisfy him, of the "need of a patient reader before the page." In spite of liberal warnings in the preface, and of statements of the problem and of what the several chapters contain, the perplexed reader about the three-hundredth page is inclined to throw the book aside, or to wish, when he finds the scattered threads at last being drawn together, that it had been written just backwards. The pages are too full, too well-fed. There *is* a central problem, a main discussion, but it lies so imbedded in remarks and considerations by the way that one is perpetually losing sight of it. Prof. Baldwin is essentially an inquirer at first hand, and he carries his method over into his exposition; he begins with his apparatus, he keeps one in suspense, he determines his shortcomings, he goes into side issues, he shows the his uncompleted work. With the best intentions in the world he is bewildering. And his sentences at times are as puzzling as his order of exposition. And yet, when one has vented one's spleen, one's abiding impression of the book is very favorable. Its pages breathe something of the intimacy, the frankness, the personal charm of a clever investigator's note-book. The fragmentary state of some of the experiments, the loose threads and ragged ends, give one the not unpleasant sense of being admitted behind the scenes, of seeing science in undress—in the making. And the substance of it all—of the experiments and discussions themselves—is capital.

'Mental Development: Methods and Processes' is a preliminary volume to be followed under the same general head by a companion sub-entitled 'Interpretations: Educational, Social, and Ethical.' Prof. Baldwin regards it as the fundamental weakness of current sociology that there exists no theory of the *socius*. It is this deficiency which his projected volume will endeavor to supply. The present one, leading up to it, yet possessing an independent value, deals with the evolution in the individual of conduct adapted to environment and of voluntary self-control. The hypothesis which has hitherto obtained the widest acceptance is best known in the form Prof. Bain gave it in his 'Emotions and the Will.' Granted, it says (what seems to be the observable fact), that the earliest movements of the new-born individual are quite at random, and that activity which results in pleasure tends to be continued and that which results in pain to be stopped, it may be shown according to mere natural selection how there would arise in the lapse of time habits of pursuing pleasure and avoiding pain, and a connection more or less complete between pleasurability and wholesomeness, pain and harm. This hypothesis, so far as it goes, Prof. Baldwin accepts, but it goes nothing like the whole way.

(1.) It proceeds as if all pleasures and pains came to the organism originally as effects of (random) movement on its part—which is in the majority of instances quite the opposite of the truth—"turns the case completely over," as Prof. Baldwin says, "and stands it on its head." It is the environment (including the living creatures that in part constitute it) that commonly takes the initiative, brings to bear on the organism some fresh stimulus of pleasure or pain—it is to this in the main, if not exclusively, that the "random movements," when they exist, are due.

(2.) It proceeds as if the organism were entirely dependent on the environment for the repetition of an agreeable stimulus; whereas the fact is, that the organism possesses the power of *Imitation* (Prof. Baldwin calls it), of taking a hint, of eking out the gaps in a defective environment and securing the repetition of a desirable stimulus by efforts of its own.

These two positions Prof. Baldwin argues with much point, in detail. Of their importance as completions of the Spencer-Bain theory of development, there can hardly be dispute. But whether the second of them is as distinctly an addition to that theory as is the first—whether *Imitation* is an independent factor in the result—is something more doubtful. Adherents of the Spencer-Bain theory have commonly held that, if the hypothesis of random movements and "lucky" chances would account for adapted conduct of any kind, it would account for *Imitation*.

This is the main current of the book, but, as has already been indicated, the discussion is of a richness and breadth of which the foregoing gives but a scant idea. Notably there are some admirable chapters early in the book on Distance- and Color-Perception by Infants, the Origin of Right-Handedness, the Rise of Tracery Imitation and the Origin and Analysis of Handwriting, and on Suggestions.

Essays and Studies. By John Churton Collins. Macmillan. 1895.

UNDER the unpretentious title of 'Essays and Studies,' Mr. Churton Collins has collected into a single volume five of his contributions to periodical literature. Two of these papers—"John Dryden" and "The Predecessors of Shakspere"—are of considerable importance. The third, "Lord Chesterfield's Letters," is interesting, but drives its thesis to such an exaggeration as to fail of convincing. The fourth, "The Porson of Shaksperian Criticism," is a labored attempt to rehabilitate Theobald. The fifth, "Menander," is of little moment. We shall confine our remarks to the first two essays, contenting ourselves, as to the fourth, with the suggestion that Mr. Collins is not the discoverer of Theobald, though he seems to think so.

Everybody knows Mr. Churton Collins's critical style, that curious combination of clearness, vigor, browbeating, and exaggeration, inspired throughout with zeal to reverse some verdict of history. When the offensive qualities are held in check—or, in other words, when Mr. Collins does not forget his manners—the directness and perspicuity of his diction are refreshing in these days of superfine critical slang and cant. One is always sure that he has a meaning and that he knows what his meaning is—two certainties not always attaching to some critics less old-fashioned. One feels sure, besides, that Mr. Collins is coming to something, right or wrong, and that also is a comfort. All these good qualities are present in the essay on Dryden, which is a good specimen of sober and virile criticism. We doubt if there is anything better on the subject. The author's weakness for reversing verdicts contents itself with a defence of Dryden's personal morality, and such a defence can do no harm if it brings the reader to consider. In literary matters the critic holds the balance well, and does not sacrifice truth to rhetoric. If he adds nothing to our knowledge of facts, he at least assists the settlement of our opinions.

The second paper in the volume, that on "The Predecessors of Shakspere," is not better done than the first, but it is of more consequence. Its occasion was the publication of the late J. A. Symonds's "Shakspere's Predecessors," of which it is in part a critique, and a just critique. Its most valuable portion, however, begins after the critique is finished, and consists of a sketch of the history of the English drama from its origin to the time when Shakspere entered upon his career. This is, in some respects, the best piece of work that Mr. Collins has ever done. It is a rapid sketch, and not always well-proportioned, but it has striking merits. In particular it states the relations of the English drama to Italian literature and to the classics more clearly and forcibly than they are stated elsewhere, and this is so considerable a service that we can pardon the inequalities, and even the inaccuracies, from which the paper is by no means free. We do not feel sure that Mr. Collins could write a good history of the drama on a large scale—that he is a poor editor was long ago proved by his attempt with the plays of Cyril Tourneur—but we cannot help wishing that he had tried it. The result, whatever its faults, would at least have possessed merits to which the ponderous and over-estimated work of Prof. A. W. Ward can make no pretensions.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Beautiful Britain: The Scenery and the Splendors of the United Kingdom. Chicago: The Werner Co. $6.75.
Brown, H. E. Betsey Jane on Wheels. Chicago: W. B. Conkey Co. 25 cents.
Davis, Ethel. When Love is Done: A Novel. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. $1.25.
Fletcher, J. S. When Charles the First was King: A Romance. London: Gay & Bird; Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.50.
Foster, Mary F. Doty Dontcare: A Story of the Garden of the Antilles. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. $1.
Foster, Rev. A. J. Ampthill Towers. T. Nelson & Sons. 80 cents.
Gift, Theo. An Island Princess: A Story of Six Weeks—and Afterwards. Putnams. 50 cents.
Graduate Courses, 1895-'6. Macmillan. 25 cents.
Henne am Rhyn, Dr. Otto. Mysteria. J. Fitzgerald & Co. 50 cents.
Hillhouse, M. L. Storm King. G. W. Dillingham. 50 cents.
Hinsdale, Prof. B. A. The American Government, National and State. New and revised ed. Chicago: The Werner Co. $1.50.
Hinsdale, B. A. Jesus as a Teacher. St. Louis: Christian Publishing Co.
Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia. New ed. Vol. VII. Appletons.
Kuphal, Otto. The Idiomatic Study of German. First Series. G. G. Peck.
Mallock, W. H. The Heart of Life. Putnams. $1.25.
Marsden, R. G. Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty. Edited for the Selden Society. London: Bernard Quaritch.
Marsh, Richard. Mrs. Musgrave and her Husband. Appletons.
Morgan, T. J. Patriotic Citizenship. American Book Co.
Morier, James. The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan. 2 vols. London: Methuen & Co.; Chicago: Stone & Kimball.
Mott, Ed. The Old Settler, the Squire and Little Peleg. Lovell, Coryell & Co. $1.
Murray, A. S. Manual of Mythology. Revised ed. Philadelphia: David McKay.
O'Connor, Joseph. Poems. Putnams. $1.25.
O'Gorman, Prof. Thomas. A History of the Catholic Church in the United States. Christian Literature Co. $3.
Oxley, J. M. My Strange Rescue, and Other Stories of Sport and Adventure in Canada. T. Nelson & Sons. $1.25.
Parkes, Dr. C. C. The Elements of Health. Philadelphia: P. Blakiston, Son & Co. $1.25.
Pemberton, Max. The Little Huguenot. Dodd, Mead & Co. 75 cents.
Reid, Stuart J. Lord John Russell. Harpers. $1.
Reinach, Salomon. Pierres Gravées des Collections Marlborough et d'Orléans, etc. Réunies et Rééditées avec un Texte Nouveau. Paris: Firmin-Didot & Cie.
Richardson, C. F. The Choice of Books. Lovell, Coryell & Co. 75 cents.
Russell, W. C. The Honor of the Flag. Putnams. 50 cents.
Shaw, E. R. Legends of Fire Island Beach and the South Side. Lovell, Coryell & Co. 75 cents.
Smith, T. K. Altruria. Altruria Publishing Co. 25 cents.
Staats, Joanna. Drumsticks: A Little Story of a Sinner and a Child. Transatlantic Publishing Co. $1.
Stephens, Mrs. Ann S. Doubly False. M. J. Ivers & Co. 25 cents.
Super, Mrs. Emma L. One Rich Man's Son. Hunt & Eaton. 90 cents.
Visitor's Guide to Salem. Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute.
Wells, H. G. Select Conversations with an Uncle. London: John Lane; New York: Merriam Co. $1.25.
Whishaw, Fred. Boris the Bear-Hunter: A Tale of Peter the Great and his Times. T. Nelson & Sons. $1.25.
Whittaker, W. J. The Mirror of Justices. Edited for the Selden Society. London: Bernard Quaritch.
Williams, H. G. Outlines of Psychology. Syracuse: C. W. Bardeen.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED